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Fierce battles rage as Syrians fight on

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent

The battle between the Syrian forces in Lebanon and the Israel Defence Forces reached a peak yesterday as tanks and artillery clashed in the eastern and central sectors, and the Israel Air Force downed at least 25 Syrian MiG fighters. There were artillery clashes between the two sides and the Israel Air Force incessantly pounded Syrian and terrorist targets along the entire front. No Israeli planes were lost.

Israeli jets yesterday also attacked new SAM missile batteries brought into the Bek'a region. Two were destroyed completely and the other two were only partially hit. On Wednesday Israel destroyed 17 batteries and damaged two others.

Israel Radio reported last night that the IDF was completing the destruction of the terrorist infrastructure in South Lebanon. All terrorist headquarters in the areas reached by the IDF have been destroyed.

A report from Lebanon last night said that one of the targets destroyed by Israeli jets yesterday was the central Syrian headquarters for Lebanon in Shtoura. If this report is accurate, the situation of the Syrian armed forces in Lebanon has become hopeless.

In addition to the 25 MiGs Syria lost yesterday, another four aircraft are thought to have been shot down. Three Syrian attack helicopters sent in against Israeli forces in the eastern sector were also shot down.

The total number of Syrian aircraft destroyed since hostilities broke out is 66 certain kills — this constitutes 12 per cent of the Syrian air force, and a considerable percentage of Syria's

front line pilots.

Fierce tank battles between Israeli forces and the Syrians were reported around the Karoun Lake area. The Syrians were holding their ground and fighting back, taking advantage of the fact that the IDF had to advance over extremely difficult terrain. The IDF's attack was three pronged, designed to encircle the Syrian armoured and infantry forces in the Bek'a Valley.

In the east, Israel's forces are now on a line between Raishiya and Kafr Mashki, and in control of the Shuf mountain range west of the Bek'a. In the central sector one eyewitness described Israeli air force damage to a Syrian armoured column as reminiscent of what the Mita Pass looked like in the opening stages of the Six Day War.

The IDF has gained control of the Dar al-Balder Pass and has the Beirut-Damascus highway in artillery and tank range. Here as well, yesterday's fighting was extremely fierce.

In the south, Syrian planes yesterday bombed several targets. Two planes dropped two 500-kilogram bombs each on houses in Einata and Binti J'bail, killing a 51-year-old man and a four-year-old girl.

In the west, the IDF continued mopping up in the cities and towns taken along the coast, with the most advanced units taking up position almost on the periphery of Beirut International Airport, near Halde.

Hundreds of terrorists were taken captive as street-to-street fighting continued in Damour, Sidon and other places. No estimates were available on terrorist dead. The IDF has also captured hundreds of tons

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)

Optimism on early cease-fire



Israeli soldiers show a captured picture of PLO leader Yasser Arafat in Tyre yesterday. Story on Tyre Page 3.

Major military objectives achieved — fierce tank, artillery battles with Syrians in Bek'a and Damascus road — commando raids against PLO centres in Beirut seen — Haig puts off visit to Middle East.

Reagan, Haig resist NATO hard line on Israel action

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

BONN. — The U.S. government is pointedly refusing to join most of its western allies in publicly condemning Israel's invasion of Lebanon.

The furthest that Secretary of State Alexander Haig would go yesterday, under intense press questioning, was to say that Israel had "not evidenced sufficient flexibility" to make a visit by him to Jerusalem "worthwhile at this time." He had therefore declined the Israel government's invitation to him.

Haig noted that Israel's military advance was "becoming extensive." Asked, however, whether there was growing U.S. impatience with Israel, he would only say — as he has said all week: "We are concerned."

Haig spoke of an exchange of messages between Presidents Ronald Reagan and Leonid Brezhnev Wednesday night. He characterized the Soviet leader's letter as "a frank expression of Soviet concern regarding the widening conflict," and hinted broadly that Brezhnev had couched his message in tart terms. Reagan, who "always responds to correspondence," had been "responsive to the tone of (Brezhnev's) letter," Haig added.

Some observers here surmised that the apparently tough exchange with the Soviets had been one contributory cause of Washington's deliberate decision to continue to go easy with Israel in public. The administration, these observers felt, did not take kindly to being lectured

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Cabinet sees 36-hour leeway for mop-up

By BENNY MORRIS
and ASHER WALLFISH

Against the backdrop of giant tank and artillery battles between Israeli and Syrian units in the Bek'a Valley of eastern Lebanon, Israeli government sources last night expressed optimism that a cease-fire with the Syrians will be concluded "probably by Saturday night" if certain conditions are met.

Pressure to reach a cease-fire was exerted yesterday on Syrian President Hafez Assad by U.S. special Middle East envoy Philip Habib, who is still in Damascus, and on the Israeli cabinet by a letter from U.S. President Ronald Reagan, which arrived in the early hours of yesterday morning. The Reagan letter conveyed strong Soviet concern about the situation in Lebanon.

The Israeli cabinet was due to meet this morning to discuss the recent American diplomatic moves and Assad's responses to Israel's conditions for a cease-fire.

The Reagan message, which begins "Dear Menachem" and is signed "Ron" (in contrast with the Reagan messages of last weekend to Begin which were signed "Ronald Reagan"), states that Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev had sent a message to him, Reagan, expressing "serious concern" about the Lebanese situation. Brezhnev, according to the Reagan letter, described the situation as "extremely dangerous" and contained the seeds of a "danger of escalation."

Reagan's letter goes on to say that though he does not accept most of the points made by Brezhnev, Israel must accept "my request and declare a cease-fire by 6 a.m."

Begin responded to the Reagan letter later yesterday morning, after consulting with his cabinet col-

leagues, by stating that while Israel is still eager to avoid a war with Syria, Assad has refused to push back PLO units interspersed among his own in the Bek'a valley to a distance of 40 kilometres or more from the Galilee Panhandle border with Lebanon.

Assad's reply to this Israeli condition for a cease-fire had earlier been transmitted to Jerusalem by U.S. special Middle East envoy, Philip Habib, who met Assad twice on Wednesday evening and for a third time yesterday.

In his letter, Begin informed Reagan of the circumstances of the Israeli air strike Wednesday afternoon against the Syrian SAM batteries in the Bek'a Valley.

Israel's readiness for a cease-fire, conditionally, is also due to the fact that the Israel Defence Forces have in any case managed to attain the principal objectives of the Peace for Galilee operation, during the course of the first five days of the land invasion.

"Israel is the one who initiated the cease-fire. We were the first to propose it. We have no interest in fighting the Syrians. The cease-fire agreement will have to ensure that terrorists will not be allowed within the range of our settlements and that other forces will not be permitted," said Defence Minister Ariel Sharon on Israel Television last night.

Sharon explained that Israel has no intention of remaining in the area, but that the agreement reached must ensure a 40-kilometre safety belt.

"We are facing difficult political bargaining and it is very important to begin from as strong a position as possible," he said.

Israeli sources said last night that Israel is willing to reach a cease-fire

(Continued on Page 17)

Terrorists hole up in main hospital of Sidon

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent

SIDON. — The battle for the control of this city continued yesterday — and will most probably continue for a few days to come.

Israeli forces have established a stronghold in the western sector of this once beautiful city on the Mediterranean coast, but hundreds of terrorists are still holed up in many quarters. Rifle fire is a constant backdrop to any conversation, and the air is permeated by the pungent smell of cordite. There is a distinct smell of death in the air as well.

It was into this atmosphere that Minister without Portfolio Yitzhak Moda'i flew yesterday on the first visit by a representative of the cabinet — other than the defence minister, and a short excursion to Jaffort Castle by Prime Minister Menachem Begin — to the battlefield.

Down on the beach, 30,000 of the city's inhabitants congregated. They were being questioned by the Israel Defence Forces and suspected terrorists were separated from the others. Women and children were allowed to go home almost immediately.

Sidon is perched atop three hills and resembles Haifa.

Israeli forces attacked on three axes, taking the city from a military point of view two days ago. But the battle is far from over. Hundreds of terrorists have barricaded themselves in the city's main hospital and in one of the refugee camps. It would be difficult to take either of these targets without civilian casualties — posing a dilemma for the military commander on the scene.

Moda'i, Rafi Eitan, who is Prime Minister Begin's chief adviser on error, and three journalists who managed to hitch a ride on the minister's helicopter climbed up the unfinished stairs of a multi-storey building in the city to meet with the commander of Israel's forces in the

zone. After a short briefing, he leads us to a nearby villa. A ground-floor apartment, the former headquarters of the Communist Party in Sidon, turns out to be a huge arms cache.

Pictures of Lenin adorn the walls, and portraits of party leaders hang nearby. There are mortars, bazookas, tons of rounds and mines.

The commander tells us that the city is a hive of underground arms caches. This was also true of Damour, Tyre and Rasbadiye. It would take dozens of trucks to cart out what his forces had found in Sidon alone over the past day, he said.

We only saw one shop open in the areas of the city we travelled through, and the crush of the crowd was so great that the grocer had to do business through a small window, to keep himself from being swamped. But people sitting on their verandas waved as we drove past, and here and there small groups of Israeli soldiers could be seen chatting with local inhabitants.

The type of conflict the IDF will face in Sidon could be protracted and costly. It will involve house-to-house and street-to-street battles against an elusive enemy who has merged into the civilian population. It is also an enemy who knows the battlefield better than the IDF, and who has weapons sophisticated enough to cause damage to armour. The task will not be an easy one.

It was sunset when we left. Groups of soldiers were huddled against makeshift fires warming their rations. They have been fighting for five solid days under difficult conditions, and they know that they have a hard fight ahead of them.

They seemed genuinely cheered to see Moda'i. One of them said that seeing a familiar face made Israel seem less distant. Another soldier, a reservist paratrooper from a Hashomer Hatza'ir kibbutz in the Negev, said he never thought he would be happy to see a member of the Likud government.

Assad urges troops to keep on fighting

By DAVID BERNSTEIN
Post Middle East Affairs Reporter
and agencies

Syria gave no sign of accepting a cease-fire last night, with President Hafez Assad urging his troops to fight on for "martyrdom or victory" as heavy fighting continued to the south and southeast of Beirut and in the southern Bek'a valley.

In a message to his troops carried by the official Syrian news agency Sana yesterday, Assad called on them "to maintain this level of steadfastness in order to achieve victory and defeat the enemy, keeping in mind our slogan — Martyrdom or Victory."

A Syrian military spokesman was quoted as saying that Israeli attacks against Syrian troops have intensified, particularly in the Beirut area and the Bek'a Valley in the east.

He said that Israel tried to reinforce its troops in the Baruk-Ain Zalta sector just south of the main Beirut-Damascus highway and along the coast between southern Beirut and the recently captured PLO stronghold at Damour.

But Syrian ground and air forces, he said, opposed the attempts, inflicting "heavy losses" on the Israelis.

Continued fighting was also reported east of the city, for control of the Beirut-Damascus highway. It does not, however, appear from these reports that Israeli troops have moved any closer to the highway from the positions they

have held for the last two days, just to the south.

A late night communique by the official news agency quoted a Syrian military spokesman as saying Syrian paratroopers landed in the southern Bek'a region and thwarted the Israeli advance northward.

Late Syrian communiques indicated major tank battles were fought yesterday with the loss of 83 Syrian tanks and 164 Israeli tanks and armoured vehicles. Syria also claimed to have shot down six Israeli fighter bombers and said one Israeli warplane crashed inside Syrian territory.

Syria listed its other losses as six helicopter gunships, five MiG-21 fighters, two of the more advanced MiG-23, 27 cannons, two batteries of rockets, with 194 soldiers killed and 312 wounded.

Israeli forces, the communique said, suffered "very heavy losses in killed and wounded" in what the spokesman said were "fierce" battles that raged from dawn to dusk.

Beirut, meanwhile, braced itself for a major Israeli assault after planes dropped leaflets warning the commander of the Syrian brigade in the city to move his troops out before Israeli troops move in.

Signed by OC Northern Command Aluf Amir Drori, the leaflets warned the commander of the Syrian force that Israel has "committed a large part of its air, naval and ground forces for the area of

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Cairo won't sever ties over invasion of Lebanon

By DAVID BERNSTEIN
Post Middle East Affairs Reporter

Egypt will not sever diplomatic ties with Israel, recall its ambassador or take any other punitive diplomatic action in the wake of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, Egyptian Foreign Ministry sources are quoted as saying yesterday in agency reports from Cairo.

Egypt's opposition press and politicians have been openly calling for such action, with Ibrahim Shukri, leader of the opposition Socialist Labour Party (SLP) yesterday demanding that Cairo withdraw its ambassador from Tel Aviv immediately and halt all relations with Israel — including its participation in the autonomy talks.

A similar call made in Egypt's National Assembly earlier in the week, by Shukri and other opposition deputies, was firmly rejected by Prime Minister Fuad Moeideen as not being in Egypt's best interests.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak yesterday sent another urgent message to U.S. President Ronald Reagan, urging him to intervene to halt the Israeli invasion and stave off occupation of Beirut.

Foreign Ministry sources in Cairo were quoted as saying that the message — the third from Mubarak to Reagan since the fighting started on Sunday — was prompted by yesterday's reports from Beirut that Israeli forces were about to enter the Lebanese capital.

It was also reported yesterday that the Foreign Ministry in Cairo received Prime Minister Menachem Begin's reply to a message Mubarak sent him on Monday calling for a halt to the invasion of Lebanon. The message was delivered to the Foreign Ministry personally, by Israel's ambassador in Cairo, Moshe Sasson.

The contents of the message were not divulged.

(View from Cairo — page 5)

Bodies of five missing helicopter crewmen found

Jerusalem Post Staff

Eight Israeli soldiers were killed in combat in Lebanon during the 24 hour period ending yesterday morning, the Israel Defence Forces spokesman announced yesterday. Four soldiers were missing in action and 164 were wounded, most of them lightly.

The bodies of five helicopter crewmen — missing since they were shot down in the first days of the fighting — have been found and identified. Two helicopter crewmen are still missing.

The families of all fallen, wounded and missing soldiers have been notified.

Of the 164 wounded, 93 sustained gh wounds, 44 moderate and 27 severe. Eight fallen soldiers were buried yesterday.

Rav-Turai Yoram Ganz, 20, of Ramat Gan, was buried in the Kiryat Shaul Cemetery near Tel Aviv. A medical orderly with the Golani Brigade, he was killed when he stepped on a mine while going to rescue wounded at the battle for Beaufort Castle on Tuesday. He leaves his parents and an older brother who is a paratroop reservist.

Segen Yisrael Shechter, 21, of Jerusalem, was buried in Jerusalem's Mt. Herzl military cemetery. The pilot of a medical-evacuation helicopter, he and his crew of five were killed by shelling from a hidden gun emplacement when they landed to pick up wounded. He leaves his parents and a 12-year-old sister.

Samal David Torstein, 29, of Rishon LeZion, was buried there. He was an airborne medical orderly

in the second helicopter hit on the first day of the fighting in southern Lebanon. He came to Israel from the U.S. at the age of six with his widowed mother, graduated from law school two years ago and was practising as an attorney in Rahon LeZion. He leaves his mother and a wife.

Rav-Samal Herzl Kalai, 31, of Beersheba, was buried there. A flight mechanic on a medical-evacuation helicopter, he was killed when his helicopter was shot down on Sunday. He leaves his parents, a wife and a seven-month-old baby.

Segen-Mishne Arye Tzuk, 30, of Moshav Tel Hanan, was buried there. Killed in fighting on Tuesday, he leaves his parents, brother and sister, wife and a 10-month-old daughter.

Turai Shomon Ben-Yiftah 20 of

Ra'anana, was a paratrooper killed in the fierce fighting to break through to the terrorist bases. He leaves his parents and two sisters.

Turai Shimon Ben-Yiftah, 20, of Moshav Pedaya, was buried in the Ramle military cemetery. He was a paratrooper.

Seren Dr. Stephen (Alexander) Landes, 36, of Tel Aviv, was the doctor on the medical-evacuation helicopter shot down on Sunday when it flew to rescue wounded near Nabatiye. He came to Israel from Rumania in 1959 and practised medicine since 1975. Landes originated the system of mobile cardiac-rescue units, which he headed, in addition to his duties as a senior physician at Ichilov Hospital. Unmarried, he leaves his widowed mother. He volunteered for Operation Peace for Galilee.

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|----------------|-----|-----|--------|
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| BRUSSELS | 18 | 23 | Clear |
| BURKES AIRS | 11 | 17 | Clear |
| CHICAGO | 17 | 23 | Cloudy |
| COPENHAGEN | 13 | 18 | Clear |
| FRANKFURT | 14 | 20 | Clear |
| GENEVA | 12 | 18 | Clear |
| JERUSALEM | 5 | 12 | Cloudy |
| LONG BEACH | 23 | 28 | Cloudy |
| LOS ANGELES | 13 | 18 | Clear |
| LONDON | 12 | 18 | Clear |
| MADRID | 17 | 23 | Clear |
| MONTREAL | 13 | 18 | Clear |
| NEW YORK | 9 | 17 | Cloudy |
| OSLO | 11 | 17 | Clear |
| PARIS | 12 | 18 | Clear |
| RIO DE JANEIRO | 14 | 22 | Cloudy |
| SAO PAULO | 15 | 21 | Cloudy |
| STOCKHOLM | 10 | 16 | Clear |
| TOKYO | 4 | 10 | Clear |
| TORONTO | 12 | 18 | Cloudy |
| ZURICH | 20 | 26 | Clear |
| ZURICH | 13 | 18 | Clear |

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Rising temperatures.
Outlook for Shabbat: Possible Sharav conditions.

| | Yesterday's Humidity | Yesterday's Min-Max | Today's Max |
|-------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| Jerusalem | 40 | 13-25 | 28 |
| Golan | 34 | 13-25 | 29 |
| Nahariya | 64 | 15-26 | 27 |
| Safed | 48 | 14-25 | 28 |
| Haifa Port | 68 | 20-26 | 27 |
| Tiberias | 34 | 17-32 | 35 |
| Nesher | 30 | 16-26 | 30 |
| Afula | 42 | 16-29 | 32 |
| Shomron | 30 | 16-27 | 29 |
| Tel Aviv | 71 | 17-27 | 28 |
| B-Q Airport | 49 | 16-28 | 30 |
| Jericho | 34 | 18-34 | 35 |
| Qana | 72 | 18-25 | 26 |
| Bersheba | 34 | 14-30 | 32 |
| Eilat | 13 | 21-36 | 36 |

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

The Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, Mr. Arye Dulin, was visited by the Austrian Ambassador, Dr. Otto Fleiner, on Wednesday, with whom he discussed the transit through Austria of emigrants from the Soviet Union.

Cyril Domb, Professor of Physics at Bar Ilan University, and a Fellow of the British Royal Society, was a guest at a luncheon given in his honour by the Blechner Chair in Jewish Values and Tradition at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. Professor Yoram Neumann, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Prof. Jesse Shapiro, Dean of the Faculty of Natural Sciences, Prof. Abraham Tamir, Dean of the Faculty of Engineering Sciences and Prof. Pinchas Peli, Blechner Chair incumbent, were present. Following the luncheon, Prof. Domb addressed faculty members on "Science and Religion."

The Arieh Ben-Eliezer Chair of National Liberation Movements, Department of History, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, is sponsoring a guest lecture by Prof. Denis Mack Smith of Oxford University on "Garibaldi and Italian Patriotism." The lecture will be given on Sunday, June 13, at 8.00 p.m. at the Israel Academy of Sciences, 43 Jabotinsky St., Jerusalem.

A lecture on "The Implications of the 'Peace for Galilee' Campaign on Judea and Samaria" will be given by Yisrael Stockman under the auspices of the SAZ, AACI and HOB on Tuesday June 15 at 8.00 p.m. at Moadon Haaleh, Rehov Alkai 9, Jerusalem. The public is invited.

Woman killed on road, passenger injured

HAIFA (Itim). — The driver of a car was killed in an accident on the old Tel Aviv-Haifa road near Zichron Ya'acov yesterday and her passenger seriously injured. According to police, the car swerved into the oncoming lane, collided with a truck, and turned over into the ditch alongside the road. The passenger was taken to hospital for treatment. Neither of the names was released for publication.

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HOME NEWS

Washington warns Soviets to stay out of Lebanon

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — The U.S. yesterday issued another veiled warning to the Soviet Union to stay out of the fighting in Lebanon.

U.S. Defence Department spokesman Henry Catto told reporters at a Pentagon briefing that Soviet interference will not be "conducive to ending the bloodshed" but represent a "threat" to peace in the region. The U.S., he added pointedly, "would not welcome it."

Two U.S. aircraft carriers — the Kennedy and the Eisenhower — are in the eastern Mediterranean. Other U.S. ships have been dispatched

there from Spain, although U.S. officials deny any major increase in the strength of the Sixth Fleet. Defence Department spokesmen have maintained publicly that all this naval activity is designed for "humanitarian" purposes — to be ready to evacuate American citizens from Lebanon. Privately, however, the Americans also acknowledge that they are anxious to warn the Soviets against intervening directly in the fighting.

The Pentagon yesterday denied that the Soviets have begun a new military-supply airlift to Syria.

Catto said the U.S. is not considering any cut-off of military supplies to Israel and Israel has not made any additional requests for

arms since the fighting began. Neither he nor State Department spokesman Alan Romberg was prepared yesterday to go beyond the consistently mild U.S. posture toward Israel.

But other U.S. officials privately expressed the opinion that a tougher position against Israel can be expected in the coming days, especially if the fighting develops into an all-out Israeli-Syrian confrontation.

A delegation of American Jewish leaders went to the White House yesterday to appeal for continued U.S. understanding of the Israeli position. Led by Julius Berman, the incoming chairman of the

Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, they met with Vice-President George Bush.

Support for Israel in Congress also appears fairly strong, although some voices have raised questions about Israel's overall intentions. Democrat Clement Zablocki, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, predicted that the Lebanese invasion will result in an erosion of support for Israel.

Catto said Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger is still planning to visit Israel at the end of August or the beginning of September — as announced during Defence Minister Ariel Sharon's recent visit here.

Tanks, in Lebanese wheatfield, point guns northward

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

ACROSS THE LEBANESE BORDER. — Underfoot, browning Lebanese wheat crushed by tank treads. Overhead, circling storks and pregnant helicopters, supply packets slung beneath their bellies, heading northwards.

The foreign military attache in a snack bar had, over a beer, given the number of Israeli armoured units that had crossed the border in recent days and one of these units was deployed in a wheat field in this lovely valley not far inside Lebanon.

The scene could hardly have been more pastoral, but the tanks were deployed in combat formation and their guns were pointing to the northeast — the Syrian controlled Bek'a valley somewhere beyond the hills.

The young crewman sitting on the turret declined to say whether they

had been to the front. "We're here now. I can't tell you where we were or where we're going to be."

"Do you fellows talk politics? Are you all agreed about this operation?"

"We talk politics and we're all agreed."

"Then it must be pretty boring for you."

The tanker thought it over for a moment, not willing to slide by with an innocuous answer.

"Boring but tense."

"Tense about the battle?"

He nodded wordlessly.

A few moments later, the tanks started their engines and moved down onto the narrow road to form a tank column. The young crewman waved. The column headed towards the northeast, where the thud of artillery could be heard much of the day. The radio would tell later of heavy tank clashes with the Syrians in the Bek'a.

The military attache.

He had got separated, he said, from the policeman who had wanted to arrest him in the turmoil of the armoured column passing through. "He saw me taking a picture. If I had been a newsman there wouldn't have been a problem. I've been trying to find him but I can't."

He immediately laid his card on the table so that the Israeli opposite him would know with whom he was talking. He knew not only the units that had come through, but also the camps from which they had come. He had been riding the Galilee roads and observing the crossing points since the first day of the operation. There was no reason to hide the fact since it was an attache's job and the Israeli military attache in his country would undoubtedly do the same if a war was going on there.

The attache expressed deepest admiration for the army he had

been watching. Most impressive were the men, he said. No arm waving or histrionics. "They're professionals." The way gear was neatly lashed down said much. The convoys were moving smoothly "without bullshit, like in my country, where you'd have officers taking down numbers of vehicles, and orders being barked over the radio. Here they know where they have to go and they're getting there."

He had been impressed, too, by the secrecy and swiftness of the mobilization. Despite the secrecy, he cited the hour mobilization began. He said attache did not pool their gleanings and he had noticed an ambitious colleague from a central European country trying to glean his own on the northern roads at 5 o'clock in the morning.

After the beer, he got to his feet. "Well, I can't wait around for that policeman any more."

UN stalemated on Lebanon action

By LEON HADAR

UNITED NATIONS. — The activity in the UN regarding the war in Lebanon reached a certain stalemate yesterday, with neither a Security Council nor a General Assembly meeting scheduled on the issue. At the same time, in behind-the-scenes negotiations, diplomats here have been discussing proposals for a deployment of new UN forces

in Lebanon.

The mandate of the UNIFIL peace-keeping force in South Lebanon expires on June 19 and diplomats here are asking whether the force will have its mandate renewed. Speaking at a press conference yesterday, a UN spokesman said, "I think it is obvious that people are concerned about the future of UNIFIL, its role and status."

300 K. Shmona children spending week in TA

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Three hundred children of the first, second and third grades from Kiryat Shmona arrived here yesterday to spend a week, with families in the Hagat Yosef quarter. They will attend the David Yellin School.

The project was organized by the Histadrut Teachers Union, the David Yellin School and the community centres in Hagat Yosef and in Kiryat Shmona.

WIZO members from Prigan, Yavul and Talmi Yosef (three moshavim moved from Pit'hat Rafiah to Pit'hat Shalom) have offered hospitality to children from

the north. Zehavi, the Movement for the Rights of Large Families, has offered to host children from large families in the north at the homes of large families in Tel Aviv and the central region; the chairman of Zehavi in Tel Aviv, Aharon Ezra, announced yesterday.

BIBLICAL ZOO. — After being closed for nearly two months, the Jerusalem Biblical Zoo is open again to the public now that the danger of rabies has passed. A quarantine was ordered on April 15 after a rabid fox entered the grounds and bit a hyena.

REAGAN HAIG

(Continued from Page One)

by Brezhnev on behalf of his Middle East clients.

The Americans' public moderation continued to contrast sharply with the positions taken by most of the Western alliance nations. U.S. officials reported during the day's 16-state summit deliberations that Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, supported by other European leaders, was pressing for a formal NATO statement condemning Israel's operation, in line with the tough European Economic Community condemnation issued here 24 hours earlier.

But this initiative was headed off, presumably by American diplomacy. What eventually emerged was an oral statement by NATO Secretary-General Josef Luns, expressing "great concern at the worsening situation, dismay at the loss of life, and hope for a speedy solution." Germany's Chancellor Helmut Schmidt acknowledged later that this did not go as far as the earlier EEC condemnation. But Schmidt, Canada's Premier Elliot Trudeau, and other NATO figures in effect agreed with Haig's observation that "it is not the role of the alliance to take a position in a crisis totally out of the NATO area."

Describing the situation on the ground as the U.S. saw it after five days of fighting, the Secretary of State (and former NATO commander) said Israel yesterday mobilized its 880th Armoured Division and sent it northwards. Israeli forces had reached the outskirts of Beirut, were well into the Bek'a valley, and had shot down eight Syrian

planes during another day of heavy air clashes.

Haig noted, without contradicting it, Israel's claim to have "knocked out all the missiles in the Bek'a valley" during Wednesday's air attacks.

He agreed that Israel had advanced "far beyond" its original objectives and, asked if the U.S. knew what Israel's new objectives now were, replied quickly: "No."

He reiterated Washington's continued support for UN Security Council resolutions 508 and 509 and continued to insist on Israeli withdrawal, though it was "much more complex than that."

Haig addressed a packed press conference after attending a meeting between President Reagan and Saudi Arabia's Foreign Minister, Prince Saud. Saud flew to Bonn specially to discuss Lebanon with American and other Western leaders.

Haig said the Prince had brought a message of "serious concern" from King Khalid.

Police break up Hebrew U. demonstration

The Jerusalem police yesterday dispersed an illegal demonstration against Israel's action in Lebanon, held by 200 Arab students at the Hebrew University's Mt. Scopus campus. One demonstrator was arrested, and released after a few hours.

Rise in jobless rate

About 74,000 Israelis, or 5.5 per cent of the labour force, failed to find work during the first three months of this year, the Central Bureau of Statistics reported yesterday. This is an increase over the 5.1 per cent average for all of 1981.

The seasonally adjusted jobless rate for the last quarter of 1981 was five per cent (68,100). For the first three months of last year it was 5.2 per cent (70,200).

The jobless rate for the first quarter of this year was 6.7 per cent among women and 4.8 per cent among men.

Golan Druse ask to join effort

KIRYAT SHMONA. — A group of Druse in the Golan Heights have written Defence Minister Ariel Sharon asking to be called up to help in the war effort, Salman Abu Salah, head of the Zionist Druse group there, said yesterday.

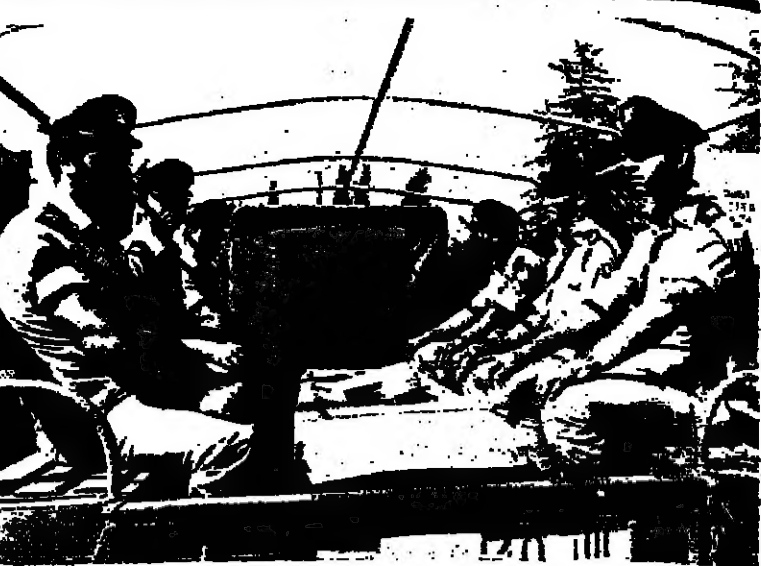
He said that they feel themselves to be full-fledged citizens and wish to fight and help their Druse brothers from Galilee who are taking part in the war.

Galilee Druse have set up counters with food and drink all over the North and have contributed \$10,000 to the Soldiers Welfare Association.

Other Druse in the Golan appealed yesterday to Labour MK Avraham Katz-Oz to be given permission to set up local civil guard units to enable the Druse to deal with civilian problems arising in times of war.

Police fire tear gas

Jerusalem police yesterday fired a number of tear gas canisters into a crowd that threw stones at them near Al-Wad Street in the Old City.



The coffin of pilot Yisrael Schechter is taken in an IDF command car yesterday to his burial place in the Mt. Herzl military cemetery in Jerusalem. (Rahamim Itami)

Wounded soldiers flown to TA area hospitals

TEL HASHOMER (Itim). — A large group of wounded soldiers were flown from the battlefields and hospitals in the North Wednesday night and yesterday to the Ben-Gurion Airport, where waiting ambulances took them to hospitals in the central region, mostly to the Haim Sheba and to Assaf Harofeh hospitals. The wounded had received initial treatment in hospitals in the North.

By yesterday, four of the wounded in Rambam Hospital in Haifa had been released, and more releases are expected in the near future. About 70 per cent of the soldiers hospitalized are suffering

from light wounds and 10 per cent are seriously wounded.

The head of Rambam appealed to the public and to volunteers who have been filling the hospital in large numbers, to cut down on visits as it hampers work and disturbs the wounded soldiers.

Eleven Lebanese, including four children, are being treated in Rambam. One of the wounded is a woman from a village north of Tyre who was hit by shrapnel; another is a woman from the Tyre area who gave birth to a son in the hospital; and another is a girl, also from Tyre, who was injured in a road accident.

Labour supports cease-fire after safety zone ensured

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Alignment's Knesset faction yesterday "expressed support for a mutual cease-fire in Lebanon, which would take effect without delay once the terrorists are defeated throughout the full 40-kilometre belt essential for the prevention of shelling of northern Israel."

After a meeting between Alignment leaders and Prime Minister Menachem Begin, Labour chairman Shimon Peres told reporters: "I understand that there is no intention of conquering Beirut." He said that Alignment leaders were updated on military and international developments.

The faction, which met in special session here last night, also said that it "supports the beginning of negotiations through the good offices of the U.S., which would be

conducted on the Israeli side in keeping with the original aim of the campaign."

The faction further states that "Israel has no interest in prolonging or expanding the campaign beyond the one aim of eliminating the forces that threatened northern Israel and of removing them beyond artillery range."

Faction sources noted that while the party seemed to be cautious against the expansion of military action, it was indirectly calling for more action in one sector — northeast of the Galilee Panhandle where not all the settlements are out of terrorist artillery range, because the terrorists have been enjoying Syrian protection. Kibbutzim in that area yesterday morning sent a request through Peres that the government ensure that the terrorist threat be removed from them as well.

Soldiers rescue 'Newsweek' staffer

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A Newsweek photographer who was caught in an Israeli artillery attack on Sidon was rescued by Israeli soldiers, who gave him a helmet and flak jacket and took him along for two days until he could be flown to Israel.

George Azar, an American in his 20s, was stranded during an artillery attack after being separated from colleagues. He ran to a house, found an old couple and many children, and tied a white flag to the man's cane when he heard Israeli

requests that non-terrorists present a sign of peaceful intentions.

Picked up and treated "very well" by the Israeli paratroopers in Sidon, Azar accompanied the soldiers for two days. A commander gave him a note: "To whom it may concern: This man was taken prisoner by mistake. He's a great guy. Make sure he's fed and taken care of." The army later flew him to Tel Aviv.

Azar said here that he was impressed by the "extremely humane treatment" of Lebanese civilians by Israeli soldiers.

At the conclusion of thirty days since the passing of our beloved mother:

ANNA B. HECKELMAN
a memorial evening will be held on Tuesday, June 15, 1982, at 7.30 p.m. at the Centre for Conservative Judaism, 2 Agon St., Jerusalem.
The Family

On the 30th day after the passing of our mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother

SARAH LEAH ISACOWITZ
there will be a memorial service and unweaving of the tombstone on Sunday afternoon, June 13, at 4 p.m. at the Vatikin Cemetery, Netanya.
The Children and All the Family

We deeply mourn the passing of

Dr. FRANZ GOLDSTEIN (Frango)
art critic and man of letters.
His Friends

With deep sorrow, we mourn for

Seren Dr. STEFAN LANDES M.D.
who fell in battle
Magen David Adom in Israel

CRIMINAL ATTACKS ON INDIVIDUALS DECREASE

Police recorded a one per cent decrease in the rate of "crime against the individual" in 1981, compared to a 12 per cent increase recorded in 1980, Police Inspector-General Arye Ivtzan disclosed yesterday.

Speaking in a graduation ceremony of police officers at the Ne'urim police school in the Sharon, Ivtzan added that it is dangerous to allow citizens to get used to crime against the elderly and against policemen.

"Police have no master but the law", Ivtzan said, referring to the Afarsk file, in which alleged misuse of public funds by the Interior Ministry is being investigated. He emphatically denied any political influence had been exerted on police duties.

DAVID ADOM IN ISRAEL

תורת אדם
מגן דאוד
בארץ ישראל

War financing measures discussed

Post Economic Reporter
Senior Treasury officials yesterday discussed reports of detailed plans on how to finance the war effort as "speculations." But reliable sources said yesterday that the decision to impose a travel tax is more or less final.

Responding to reports in the press about such measures as compulsory loans to the government, a sharp reduction in subsidies and a hike in Value Added Tax, Treasury officials said discussions are at a very preliminary stage and that there have been no official meetings on how to finance the war. There has only been "an exchange of views" between Finance Minister Yoram Aridor, Treasury director-

general Ezra Sadan and budget director Ya'acov Gadish, the officials said.

The imposition of a travel tax was discussed several weeks ago, but was "dismissed" as the government feared that this would jeopardize its position in future elections.

On the other hand, the officials said, there is general agreement that there should not be any addition to the original budget that is not covered by an increase in revenue. The Treasury has decided to print as little money as possible to finance the war, which means the public will have to pay for it somehow.

Senior Treasury officials said yesterday that the measures will not include hikes in income taxes, nor

will unemployment be used to counter inflation.

The Treasury will decide on the necessary steps within one week, and the public will be informed, they said.

Michal Yudelman, Jerusalem Post reporter, adds that the Travel Agents' Association yesterday blasted the Finance Ministry's reported intention to renew the travel tax on trips abroad as part of the effort to cover war expenses.

Association chairman Eli Blau said that apart from damaging the travel industry, the travel tax will harm the very people who are now fighting in the north, as many of them might wish to go abroad after the war.

Haddad wants areas for 'Free Lebanon'

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — Major Sa'ad Haddad intends to incorporate all of the areas taken by the Israel Defence Forces in South Lebanon into his "Free Lebanon."

Speaking to an Israel Radio reporter yesterday, Haddad said that he had already paid a visit to the Shi'ite elders of Nabatiya and Druse leaders and said that they had

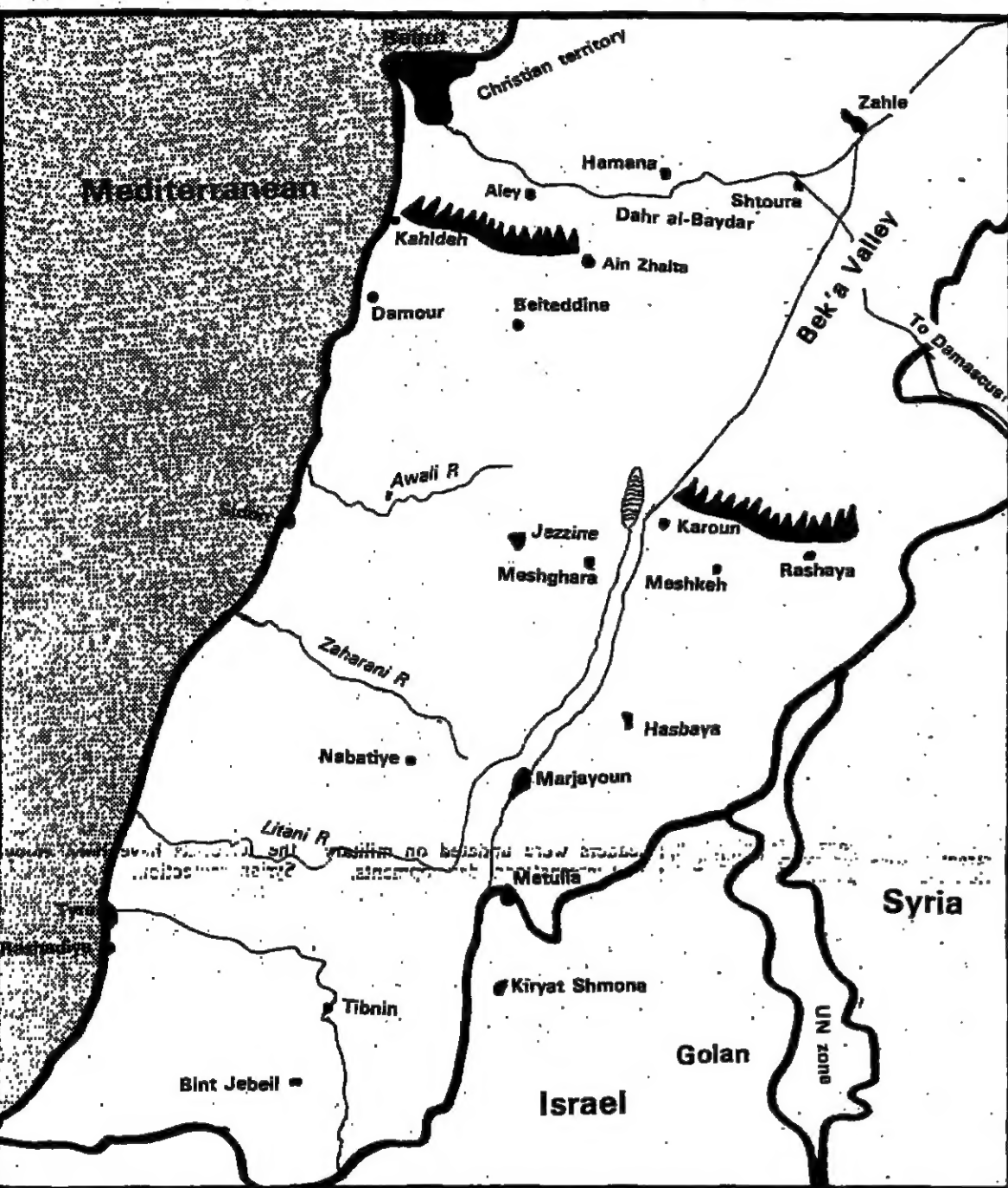
pledged him their loyalty and adherence to "Free Lebanon."

Haddad went on to say that many of the elders told him that they had been forced to cooperate with the terrorists. They now appealed to him and the IDF to restore essential public services as soon as possible.

He said he will order all Palestinians banished from the areas taken by the Israelis.

Haddad's militiamen are participating in the mopping-up operations in the south, particularly in villages with which they are familiar.

Militiamen said they were well received in many villages and that residents are removing photographs of Yasser Arafat and replacing them with those of Haddad and flags of "Free Lebanon."



Map of Southern Lebanon shows battle lines as reported yesterday. Israel Defence Forces armour and artillery were pressing Syrian forces on two fronts: southeast of Beirut in a struggle for control of the Beirut-Damascus highway and across the southern Bek'aa Valley. Further south, mopping up operations against pockets of PLO forces were continuing in Sidon and elsewhere.

IDF helps get Tyre back to normal

Jerusalem Post Staff
Thousands of Tyre's former population of 45,000 are camping out on the beach as instructed by leaflets dropped over the city by the Israel Defence Forces. The city itself is in ruins, most of the buildings having been destroyed and the water supply disrupted.

The IDF is providing the town's residents with food and water. On Wednesday, the IDF completed repairing the main water pipe to the city. Today, the IDF will begin distributing 50 kilograms of flour to each family in cooperation with the UNRWA, an IDF correspondent reported yesterday.

IDF teams have begun clearing away debris and distributing food. The city's military government is

headed by Rav-Seren Dr. Yosef Dana, lecturer in Arabic literature at Haifa University. Tyre's mayor, Ali Halid Shaalan, remains in office and is cooperating with the military administration to get the city back on its feet.

Alongside these peaceful operations, the IDF was still busy Wednesday clearing Tyre of the last pockets of terrorists. In the afternoon, a large group was found hiding in a private hospital in the city's centre, the IDF correspondent said.

In the Christian villages and towns south of Damour, the populace has been providing the IDF with information about the activities of terrorists, the IDF correspondent reported. The terrorists,

the local inhabitants said, had limited their freedom of movement and forced them to provide food, clothing and other goods under threats of physical violence. The OC Northern Command, Aluf Amir Drori, said in his order of the day:

"We have been given the task of uprooting and destroying the terrorists who threaten the security of Israel and its population. I am certain that we shall carry out that task to its completion, while scrupulously observing proper rules of behaviour and purity of arms in all contact with the civilian population that does not belong to the terrorist organizations or their supporters."

The order said that there is to be no contact with civilians, that looting will be severely punished.



School children and other volunteers prepare gift parcels for soldiers yesterday at the Tel Aviv offices of the Soldier's Welfare Association. (IPPA)

TV head vetoes 'political' comment on war in Lebanon

By JUDY STEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TV director Tuvia Sa'ar has ruled that no politically identified commentator may appear on *Mabat* to explain the developments of the war in Lebanon.

Labour MK and former Israel Defence Forces chief of staff Mordechai Gur had been approved by the Defence Ministry and briefed by the Israel Defence Forces for appearances on *Mabat* this week, but Sa'ar vetoed it.

As long as the fighting goes on, Sa'ar asserted, there will be no man identified with politics to comment on the news. But Aluf (res.) Yeshayahu Gavish, the executive vice-president of Koor Industries, was invited to appear on Wednesday night. A Broadcasting Authority source explained that the former army general is not identified politically.

Labour MK Chaim Herzog, former chief of army intelligence, was a star commentator on TV throughout the Six Day and Yom Kippur Wars.

Israel TV, the Army Radio, and Israel Radio have received "full cooperation" from the IDF in order to provide extensive, on-the-scene coverage, the source said. Unlike the situation with the Yamit evacuation, the electronic media and the IDF are now helping each other. TV reporters were called up and are not free to choose what to cover. But they aren't complaining.

Israel Radio's Second Programme, which yesterday continued to broadcast around the clock (without commercials), yesterday presented a three-hour song-and-talk programme from Metulla's community centre.

Thousands more gift packages for soldiers poured into offices of the radio and of the Soldier's Welfare Association yesterday, thanks to a continuing joint campaign.

The Foreign Press Association complained yesterday that the IDF Spokesman's Office is not allowing them to cover the war in Lebanon properly. Deputy chairman Gideon Berl, a correspondent of the German Press Agency, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that the foreign press is "being kept out of the picture," and that tours being organized now, with IDF escort, are "not serious," since there is no action in the areas visited.

In reply, the Government Press Office said that leaks of military information must be prevented, and that since Israel TV correspondents are in the army, they cannot be a source of any leaks.

But starting yesterday, a "growing number of correspondents" have been permitted to cross the border to see certain areas with military escorts. "We are permitting them to go to places with the semblance of relative normalcy," it was said.

A number of news agencies, including ABC TV, have no complaints about restrictions on coverage, saying that these are "normal for any war zone."

However, Sheli party leader Uri Avneri has complained to Defence Minister Ariel Sharon of what he describes as the suppression of a free press and press coverage during the Lebanese war. Sheli announced yesterday. Avneri was arrested by the military police and handed over to the civilian police after covering the fighting in Lebanon. The police released him on bail after fingerprinting him.

Fruit harvest in North hit by manpower shortage

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Farmers in the north, who returned to work on Wednesday, are facing a serious manpower shortage, in addition to the heavy damage caused by terrorists' shelling.

Rahamim Yakuti, head of the Galilee Moshav Purchasing Organization, said that the manpower shortage — caused by extensive callups — is critical as peach, apricot and plum harvests are now beginning. "It's a race against time to pick the fruit before it falls to the ground," he said. Another problem is the conscription of many of the farmers' vehicles.

Volunteers for fruit picking and persons with cars should contact one of the Upper Galilee regional

councils. The emergency headquarters are in Kiryat Shmona.

Simha Assaf, secretary-general of the Histadrut's agricultural centre, said yesterday that a special emergency committee has been set up to deal with the farmers' difficulties. Assaf is going north tomorrow to visit the settlements. The Bank of Israel has agreed to grant farmers in the North partial credit if the emergency continues.

Deputy Agriculture Minister Pessah Grupper visited the north yesterday and told farmers that the Finance Ministry has set aside a special budget to help the farmers. Yesterday, Agriculture Ministry teams completed their estimations of damages caused by the shelling, on which they will base compensation to the farmers.

OC Armour warns against attack in Golan

TEL AVIV. — The OC Armoured Corps, Aluf Moshe Bar-Kochba, yesterday warned radio listeners that Syria might yet launch a sneak attack on the Golan Heights. He added that Zahal had taken such a possibility into account and was deployed and ready for all eventualities.

Speaking on Kol Yisrael's noon-time newsreel, Bar-Kochba said that the performance of the Armoured Corps in Lebanon has been outstanding. "They have performed in a way that would make any army proud to acknowledge them as their own. Moving across extremely difficult terrain, in large numbers and at considerable speed, time and again taking enemy units by surprise."

The operations in mountain areas and also in dense grove areas had been a remarkable achievement, and the "end result" speaks for itself, Bar-Kochba said. But he added that present experience has also provided points on which to ponder and that certain conclusions will have to be drawn to improve the performance of the corps even further.

THE HOME FRONT

Volunteers offer services, sweets to soldiers in North

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Hundreds of gift packages containing transistor radios, games, books and cigarette packs were distributed yesterday to combat units by the Soldiers' Welfare Association. The association's offices have been flooded by calls from people who wish to send funds, packages and other help to soldiers.

Hotels, organizations and institutions have been organizing collec-

tions of packages for soldiers, which they transfer to the association's offices.

Schoolchildren throughout the country have been filling paper bags with sweets, cakes, chewing gum and cigarettes for soldiers.

Teams of association volunteers are visiting wounded soldiers in hospitals in the North, bringing them toothpaste and toothbrushes, shavers, transistor radios and other items.

Mother's helper

NAHARIYA (Itim). — Samal Ya'acov Dehan, fighting with the Armoured Corps in Lebanon, finally managed to get to a telephone on Wednesday night and called his home here — and was surprised to hear a strange female voice answer the phone.

Tamar Ranya, a woman soldier with the Golani brigade, was sent to the Haifa town major's office when her male colleagues went into battle in Lebanon. She was sent to Dehan's home to assist his wife, Zehava, who was having trouble coping with her six-month-old twin sons and her sick 18-month-old son.

Tamar took over all the domestic duties, from shopping and babysitting to doing the laundry and dishes, besides keeping up Zehava's spirits.

Worried relatives

NAHARIYA (Itim). — The town majors in the north of the country are coming under increasing pressure as hundreds of concerned wives and parents turn to their offices, seeking word of their husbands and sons fighting in Lebanon.

The majors and their staff try to calm the relatives, who have often not heard from their loved ones since the fighting began six days ago. Soldiers who became fathers in the course of the battles have received word of the births through the town majors' offices.

Women volunteers sought

The Association of University Women has called on all academic women to volunteer to replace professional men who have been recruited. Those interested can call any of the following numbers: 03-239281, 03-45946, 03-751745, 03-83998, 04-932369, 02-523850.

Thief uses waver as cover

TEL AVIV (Itim). — "I'm from the army. I've come about the call-up," the 80-year-old woman heard the man outside her door say. When Malka Globus, a resident of Jean Jaures Street in Tel Aviv, opened the door, the man grabbed two gold chains from her neck and made off. Police are investigating.

Bedside telephones

HAIFA (Itim). — Mobile telephones have been installed on the beds of all hospitalized soldiers, so as to enable them to contact their families easily.

Religious articles

Soldiers in the North are short of ritual objects and a group has been formed in Tel Aviv to collect such items. The group urges the public to contribute funds to a special account in Discount Bank, called "Religious articles for the Soldiers in the North," or to bring phylacteries, prayer shawls, prayer books and skullcaps to the Tiferet Zvi synagogue in Tel Aviv's Hermann Cohen Street between 8 a.m. and 4 p.m.

Soldiers snacks

Refreshment stands have been set up by Galilee kibbutzim at nearby intersections, to enable travelling soldiers to stop and have a bite.

Bake a cake

Tel Aviv traffic policewomen have abandoned writing tickets to offending drivers and are voluntarily baking cakes to be sent to soldiers. The entire Tel Aviv police force has collected IS10,000 for buying soldiers gifts and have contributed one day's pay to the IDF.

IS 100,000 raised

Residents of Yokne'am have collected some IS100,000 during the past two days to buy gift packages for soldiers. The local council has contributed sandwiches, which are given to soldiers as they pass by on their way to or from the front.

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 Jerusalem: 220 Jaffa St. Tel. 02-524875
 Beer-Sheva: 2 Hebron Rd. Tel. 057-30245



TOUR VA'ALEH

W.Z.O. Aliyah and Absorption
 Dept.
 U.O.J.C.A.-NCSY Israel Center
 invite tourists to a
HUG ALIYA
 to be held at the Israel Center,
 10 Straus Street, Jerusalem,
 on Sunday,
 June 13, 1982 at 8 p.m.
 Subject: How to be an Aliyah
 Activist Abroad.
 Speakers: Bobby Brown —
 Trust Aliyah W.Z.O.
 Steve Kitzner
 Havrat Aliyah Toranit
 Movie: 3 Orthodox Families
 Admission free All welcome

Argov's attackers held for week

By HYAM CORNEY
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
LONDON. — The three Arabs suspected of the attempted murder of Ambassador Shlomo Argov were held in custody for a week by the Lambeth Magistrates' Court yesterday. The hearing lasted about a minute and none of the accused spoke.

Ghassan Hasan Ahmed Sa'id, the 23-year-old Jordanian student who was in a wheelchair for his first court appearance on Monday, this time walked into court unaided, though still bandaged round the neck where he was shot while trying to escape.

Outside the court, Commander William Huckleby, head of Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist squad, told me that they are still looking for associates of the three gunmen. He thought that some are in the London area "and some we believe have gone abroad."

The commander confirmed that the three are members of the Al-Aqsa group opposed to what they considered the moderate line of the PLO. He also confirmed that PLO London representative Nabil Ramlawi and other London-based Arabs are on the hit list found by police. All those named on the list were informed. Many have already received police protection. "We are now assessing the threat and if it is considered that extra protection is needed, we will give it." The list, he added, "has credibility."

Foreign Office Minister of State Douglas Hurd told parliament yesterday that the shooting of Argov cannot justify the invasion of Lebanon.

Asked by Greville Janner to tell the PLO that it must renounce terrorism whether in the Middle East or on the streets of Lebanon, Hurd replied that they had done so "for many months." It would be helpful, the minister added, if the Israeli

government recognized that the Palestinians had political rights. Labour foreign affairs spokesman Denis Healey said that what Israel is doing in Lebanon "risks seeing the whole of the Arab world going into the hands of Moslem fundamentalism. Nothing could be more contrary to Israel's real interests than that."

Foreign Secretary Francis Pym said that he sees great dangers in Israel's failure to comply with the Security Council resolution calling for withdrawal.

On Sunday, Hava Argov, wife of the Israeli ambassador to Britain, is to attend a mass rally in London to protest against the attempt on her husband's life by pro-Palestinian terrorists, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported yesterday from London.

Argov is still unconscious in London's National Hospital for Nervous Diseases.

Hotels suffer little as tourists undeterred

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
and HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporters

TEL AVIV. — Tel Aviv's hotels have had very few cancellations of reservations due to the fighting in the North. The beaches outside the large hotels are crowded with bathers, who seem completely unaware that a war is raging a few hundred kilometres away.

Tourists who go sightseeing in Tel Aviv or window shopping in Dizengoff Street are impressed by the lively flow of shoppers, pedestrians and traffic and the general feeling that nothing unusual is going on. "I see no reason for cutting my trip short," a tourist in a Dizengoff cafe said yesterday.

Rather than sunbathing and cafes, some visitors to Israel seek action — as the organizers of a car

rally for almost 200 American travel agents and travel journalists discovered yesterday.

The rally, organized by the Tourism Ministry, together with the Hotels Association and Hertz Rent a Car, was planned several weeks ago to show agents and news-media people that Israel is not the scene of violence as so often depicted in the media. But the participants have insisted on seeing the settlements in the news — Kiryat Shmona, Nahariya and Metula.

According to a Tourism Ministry spokesman, "very few" of the expected participants cancelled their participation. But other sources said about 10 per cent of the guests failed to come.

The country's hotels say they are receiving some cancellations, but not as many as were feared. Moshe Amir, director of the Hotel Associa-

tion, said yesterday that the number of cancellations is "not significant." He expected tourism to pick up as soon as the hostilities cease.

The hotels are feeling the war tension in other ways, however, with a large percentage of their staff on reserve duty; the remaining employees are working twice as long and as hard.

The hotels in the Jerusalem area have organized staff to help the North Hotel in Kiryat Shmona, most of whose staff is in the army. The hotel, which has often suffered as a result of terrorist shelling, is now filled with journalists.

Most of the large hotels have set up "contribution counters" for collecting funds and sweets for the soldiers fighting up north, and have arranged to host groups of children from northern settlements.

Tourist couple stuns soldiers with cash

NAHARIYA (Itim). — Three weary soldiers sporting an impressive four-day stubble on their chins, battle-stained and carrying their weapons were Wednesday "overwhelmed" by a couple of elderly tourists from Miami.

The soldiers were enjoying a round of fresh falafel when, to their surprise, Paulina and Fred Zimmermann, who had come from Tel Aviv "to see the war," offered to pay for their refreshments. The embarrassed soldiers refused.

The Zimmermanns would not give up, however, lurking in ambush a short distance down the street, they again pounced on their "victims" and managed to stuff \$600 into their shirt and trouser pockets before disappearing into a rapidly gathering crowd.

With the Zimmermanns nowhere in sight, the soldiers decided to give the money to one of their buddies — who had been unemployed for the past few months and just landed a job when he was called up.

"We don't need the money. We only hope our mate accepts the money," they said.

REST STOP. — Soldiers passing through Nahariya have been invited by the Carlton Hotel to stop off for a free meal, shower or dip in the hotel pool. The hotel is currently empty of guests.

FRONTLINE NEWS. — The Soldiers Welfare Association is distributing thousands of postcards to soldiers serving in Lebanon. The cards are assured rapid delivery to soldiers' families.

Bus services affected by call-up

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Egged and Dan bus cooperatives reduced their service this week because of the emergency situation, but spokesmen of both cooperatives promised that no one will be left at bus stops.

Drivers and buses both have been conscripted, but there is no shortage of buses, the cooperatives spokesmen said. The cut in service was made in collaboration with the Transport Ministry, which decides which lines to cut and with what frequency the buses should run.

New head for Presidents' Conference

By LEON HADAR
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. — Julius Berman, president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America (OUJCA), was yesterday elected chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, the umbrella organization representing 34 major American Jewish groups.

Berman, 46, a New York lawyer, succeeds another New York lawyer, Howard Squadron, the president of the American Jewish Congress who

completes his second year as the chairman of the Presidents' conference on June 30.

The new chairman is serving his fourth year as president of the OUJCA and is the former president of the National Jewish Commission on Law and Public Affairs, secretary of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and a member of the executive committee of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, the Synagogue Council of America and the New York Jewish Community Relations Council.

Woman suffocates in apartment fire

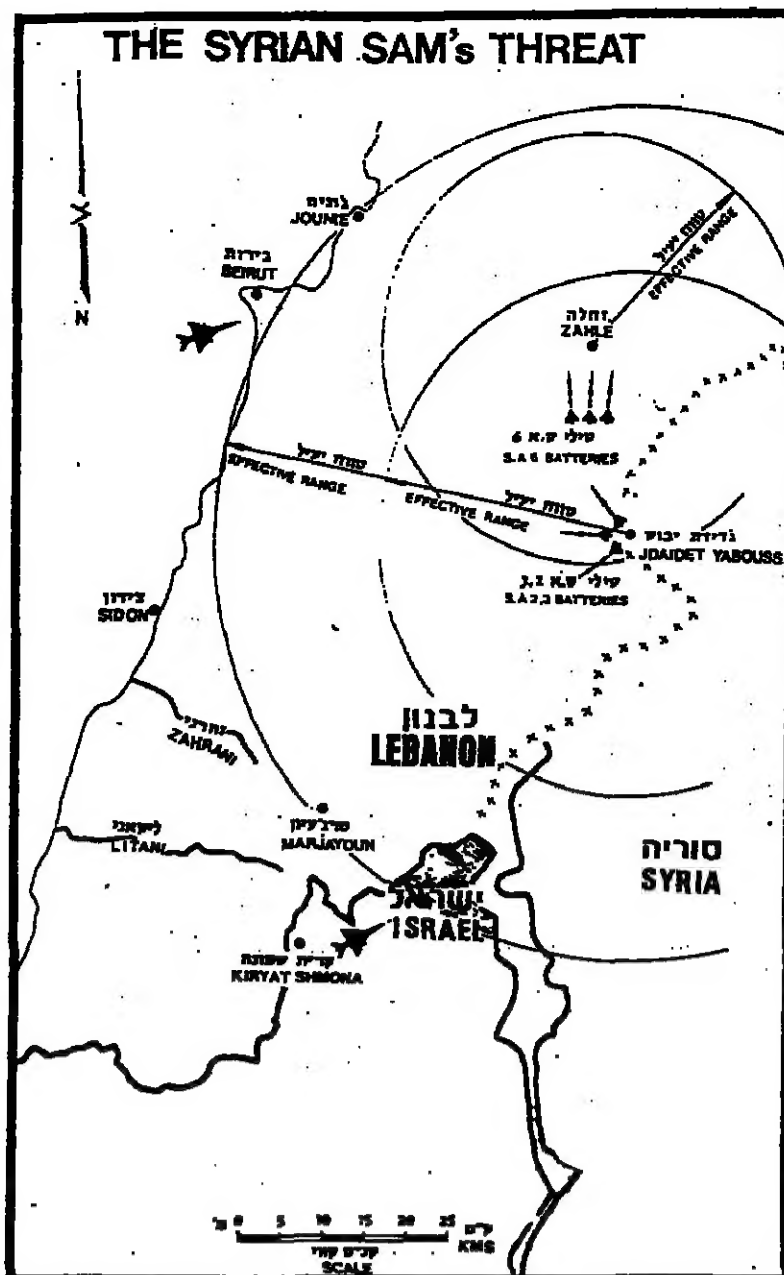
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A 73-year-old woman apparently suffocated in a fire in her flat in Rehov Shenkin in Givatayim early yesterday morning.

Firemen and police rushed to the building after neighbours saw flames coming out of the windows. The building's owner, Miriam Bogeliden, was found lifeless in-

side, and it is assumed she suffocated from the smoke. Neighbours said she used to burn things in her flat. She apparently did so yesterday, too, and lost control over the flames.

CEAUSCUCU. — Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu will visit Jordan for three days during the second half of this month.



Locally produced devices help destroy Syrian SAMs

By ZEEV SCHUL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The destruction of 17 Syrian missile emplacements in the eastern part of Syrian-held central Lebanon early Wednesday marks, in the words of Defence Minister Ariel Sharon, a "turning point" in the Lebanese campaign.

Observers here see it as a major technological achievement, which should be credited not only to the air force and ground units who made it possible, but also to the unsung men of the military industries' laboratories and testing grounds.

The Soviet Sam-2, -3 and -6 type batteries deployed by the Syrians in the Bek'a Valley were all advanced types of anti-aircraft guided-missile systems that have long been the bane of the Israeli Air Force and may even have played a major role in the decision not to launch a pre-

emptive strike against Egypt just before the Yom Kippur War.

The "Guideline" (SA-2) and the "Goa" (SA-3) are mobile developments of an early SAM (fixed site) version.

It would now seem that these obstacles have been overcome.

In a brief televised interview with the commander of the squadron that crippled the SAMs, the officer explained that the destruction of the missiles had involved an "anti-missile" riding the same radar beam used by the missile radar to seek out the intruding aircraft.

The Syrian missiles' range of 50 kilometres (SA-2) effectively covered all of the southern half of Lebanon, including a slice of the northern Golan Heights. This provided protection against Israeli aircraft to PLO marauders and ar-

Pope off to Argentina

VATICAN CITY (UPI). — Pope John Paul II was scheduled to leave last night on a two-day trip to Argentina, designed to offset Latin American criticism of his visit to Britain during the Falkland Islands crisis.

John Paul is scheduled to arrive in Buenos Aires this morning after his plane makes a one-hour refuelling stop at Rio de Janeiro. He is to leave Argentina en route back to Italy tomorrow afternoon.

John Paul has said he will be praying in Argentina for a "victory of peace over war" in the Falkland Islands just as he did in Britain.

In Warsaw the Primate, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, said yesterday that the pope is now more likely to visit Poland because of his trips to Britain and Argentina, and such a return to his homeland under martial law in August will be a sign of returning stabilization.

Film director Fassbinder found dead

MUNICH. — Rainer Werner Fassbinder, West Germany's best-known film director, was found dead yesterday in his Munich flat, police said.

The cause of the 36-year-old director's death was not immediately known. A post-mortem will be held today.

Fassbinder was West Germany's most prolific film director. Among his latest works were *Lili Marlene*, a fictionalized account of wartime singer Lale Anderson; the critically acclaimed *Marriage of Maria Braun*, and a 13-part television serial entitled *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, which also found a market abroad.

Fassbinder, who developed a cult following with his films portraying post-war Germany's feelings of rejection and despair, was found dead lying naked on a mattress as a video cassette played a copy of the film he was working on.

A police spokesman said Fassbinder might have died of a heart attack, but the cause was unknown. "We do not know if he killed himself, or if he just took too many pills or too much whisky or something similar," he said. "The only thing we rule out is murder."

He said an autopsy will be postponed until today because yesterday was the Corpus Christi holiday. (Reuter, UPI)

U.S. men fighting with Salvador rebels

SAN SALVADOR (UPI). — An American machinegunner and 14 other U.S. men are fighting alongside Salvador guerrillas, a government military commander said.

Colonel Domingo Monterrosa told a news conference on Wednesday that he learned of the Americans from four guerrillas and a 15-year-old rebel nurse — captured by his Green Beret-trained

Attacai battalion.

"She told us that some 15 Americans were those who commanded... According to the girl's story, one (American) uses a .50-calibre machinegun and others lead patrols," Monterrosa said.

Monterrosa's statement was the first report of significant participation by Americans with the guerrillas. He promised that the prisoners soon will be presented at a news conference.

Iraqi cease-fire offer rejected by Teheran

LONDON. — Iran's official news agency said yesterday that an Iraqi offer of cease-fire in the 20-month-old Gulf War came too late. Reeling from a series of defeats in the war, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein made the offer yesterday, saying it is time to take on Israel.

Nonetheless, Baghdad announced that it is observing a unilateral cease-fire with Iran, in compliance with a decision taken earlier in the day. But a military communiqué broadcast by Baghdad Radio said the Iraqis had to react to Iranian artillery fire a number of times yesterday "to silence the source of firing."

Hussein, widely rumoured to have been ousted, met with his military commanders yesterday to discuss developments on the war front.

The Iraq embassy in Washington denied a report that Hussein had been overthrown in a military coup. "There is no truth to that whatsoever," embassy press counsellor Kamal Elissa said in response to the report broadcast on ABC News' *Nightline* programme.

The Iraqi decision, taken at a joint meeting of the Revolutionary Command Council and the national command of the ruling Ba'ath party, says Iraq is ready to pull back to the international border in two weeks.

"Iraq announced its readiness to observe an immediate cease-fire on

the war front with Iran in response to the Islamic Peace Committee's appeal for ending hostilities to confront the Zionist enemy's aggression," the news agency said.

Middle East analysts said Hussein is apparently seizing on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon as an opportunity to obtain a face-saving settlement from the Iranians.

The Iranian national news agency IRNA said if Iraq had been sincere in seeking peace with Iran, it would have accepted Iranian demands before the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the agency said.

An Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman told Reuters by telephone from Teheran that an official statement in response to the offer will be issued later. He declined to comment further on the Iraqi move.

IRNA, describing the invasion of Lebanon as "a vicious plot of reactionaries in the region to rescue Saddam," said the Iraqi leader has a common interest with Israel in disrupting peace in the Middle East. Iranian officials said this week that Iran was militarily capable of fighting Iraqi and Israeli forces simultaneously.

The deputy commander of Iran's Revolutionary Guards, Ali Shamkhani, said yesterday that Iranian volunteers will leave for Lebanon within the next 24 hours to fight alongside Syrian and PLO forces. (Reuters, UPI)

British naval losses 'tragic,' but won't delay final assault

LONDON. — Britain said yesterday its Falkland Islands forces suffered "tragic" losses from Argentine air attacks Tuesday, but it said military plans have not been disrupted by the losses and they "will go forward to further victories very soon."

Defence Secretary John Nott told Parliament at least seven and possibly 11 Argentine planes were downed when the frigate HMS Plymouth and landing ships Sir Tristram and Sir Galahad were hit and damaged. A small British landing craft was also hit and four Royal Marines and two sailors were killed.

Several London newspapers said British losses might set back the final assault on Stanley, the island capital, by two weeks. But Nott's statement clearly was designed to dampen such speculation.

Nott said British forces are now "in full command of high ground in an arc surrounding the town of

Stanley." He refused to disclose the full number of British casualties on Tuesday, although the Defence Ministry earlier said they are "feared to be heavy."

In Buenos Aires, the Argentine high command said its artillery has silenced British ground batteries on the Falklands and inflicted casualties on troops advancing on the capital.

A communiqué said an artillery duel lasted for eight hours Wednesday until the British batteries ceased to respond.

Argentine shells also hit British troops and helicopters in the area of Mount Kent where British forces are poised for a final assault on Stanley.

Military experts in Argentina said that the assault could be delayed by up to two weeks after the serious damage Argentine air attacks inflicted on the British fleet off the Falklands on Tuesday. (UPI, Reuter)

Lebanese war casts shadow on NATO summit in Bonn

BONN (Reuters). — Israel's military thrust into Lebanon cast a darkening shadow over a NATO summit meeting in Bonn yesterday.

The alliance meanwhile issued a fresh appeal to the Soviet Union to agree on an end to the arms race. A declaration prepared for release at the end of the day-long meeting urged Moscow to take up a triad of alliance proposals for curbing strategic and medium-range nuclear arms as well as ground forces in Europe.

The declaration, a text of which was made available by diplomats, committed NATO to ensuring its nuclear deterrent and at the same time negotiating arms reductions.

While leaders of the 16 NATO nations met in closed session at the Bonn chancellery, there was an accompanying flurry of diplomatic activity in response to the latest Middle East flare-up.

And on the opposite bank of the Rhine, at least 100,000 demonstrators rallied in protest against NATO plans to deploy new U.S. missiles in Europe next year unless talks with Moscow bring agreement on arms curbs.

The NATO declaration, drafted by diplomats during weeks of discussions before the summit, said the alliance aims to prevent war, safeguard democracy and build the basis of a durable peace.

NATO leaders called for responsible Soviet behaviour to ease tensions produced by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the Polish military clampdown.

"Our goal is to develop substantial and balanced East-West relations aimed at genuine détente," they declared.

The NATO document reflected pleas by West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and some other alliance leaders for a renewed alliance commitment to détente as well as deterrence.

Schmidt told the opening ceremony in the West German Bundestag that Western military strength, though vital, is not enough.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, flanked by U.S. President Ronald Reagan, listened grim-faced as he declared that use of force is not a way for settling international differences.

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Watching the war from Cairo...

By DAVID RICHARDSON/Jerusalem Post Reporter



(David Rubinger)

TWO DAYS after we arrived in Cairo, a bodyguard presented himself. Clutching a walkie-talkie and with a slight bulge on his hip, he now patrols the corridors of the hotel on the Corniche el-Nil where we are staying, following us on every journey.

His arrival has not been accompanied by any noticeable change in attitude towards us, a group of Israeli journalists. Our hosts are still as friendly as ever. But, they say, the bodyguard is there just in case. Israel's strike into Lebanon has, for the first time, necessitated this kind of security for Israelis in Cairo.

Following the progress of the war in Lebanon from an Arab capital is clearly a strange and unpleasant experience for an Israeli. The newspaper headlines, the news bulletins, the slightly embarrassed but pointed questions about Israel's motives from Egyptians... all this leaves one with a sense of uneasy isolation. And there is an unspoken awareness on both sides of the fragility of the peace.

"You are destroying the peace treaty with your bombs in Lebanon," said Dr. Abdul Aziz Nawar, director of the Middle East Research Institute at the University of El Shams. The institute also has a department on Israel, but none of its researchers has yet visited the country. One can't progress hastily in these things, explains Nawar.

NEWS OF THE Israeli push into Lebanon reached us on the bus to Cairo, as we drove through El Arish. All the way to the canal, past the flattened remains of the Bar-Lev Line, the cracked bunkers and the rusty-steel reinforcements

where many of us had served as soldiers, the sense of surrealism grew. Here we were, crossing the canal in ferries flying the Egyptian flag, with ragged sweet vendors calling out "shalom," while Kol Yisrael and the Voice of Cairo reported the armoured advance in the north.

At times, Lebanon seemed as far away as — well, as the Falklands.

Our sense of unease, constantly heightened by each report of the war — the fall of Tyre, Damour, the encirclement of Beirut, the clashes with the Syrians — contrast with the ease with which we can speak Hebrew in the streets, mingle in a wedding crowd or in a nightclub surrounded by Egyptians, Saudis and Kuwaitis.

Taxi drivers and shopkeepers recognize us as Israelis and are as keen as ever to do business. A young man asking for baklava remains unfazed and as persistent as ever after mistaking us for — of all things — a party of Lebanese.

The majority of Cairenes appear blatantly indifferent to the fighting in Lebanon: "The Arab states are banging away at each other, so why shouldn't the Israelis have a go, too," was the off-hand comment of one taxi driver.

BUT IN official circles in Cairo, the embarrassment, frustration and anger with Israel are far more vociferous: "Do you think you can just go in to three million Palestinians?" asks a senior official,

using a crude epithet of dismissal. "Do you think they will all disappear and that that is how you will solve the problem?"

Newspaper editors are restraining their staff and headline writers, another official says: "The bitterness that you see in the papers is only the tip of the iceberg."

But the officials concede — and foreign diplomats in Cairo confirm — that in Egypt it is the president and a few of his senior aides who determine policy. For the time being, that policy remains a firm commitment to the peace process, and no real action is being contemplated against Israel, such as recalling the

ambassador.

"Egypt will do everything to keep its lines with Israel open, if only to keep the fig-leaf of Camp David and not to concede that it concluded a separate peace with Israel," said a Western diplomat this week. "Breaking off relations might give Begin the excuse to annex the West

Bank. In the end, there is also the realization that at the moment, Israel appears to hold all the cards."

THE BELLY DANCER is Lebanese, says Naji, our Coptic taxi driver and guide for the evening. True Egyptian women would not perform half-naked on the stage, he insists. We wonder among ourselves what she would say if she knew a party of Israelis was watching her wiggling her tassels, as other Israelis were invading her country. Probably nothing, we conclude.

Naji, well aware of what we want to hear, tells us that he fought in 1967 and 1973 as an army medic. He remembers how Israelis used to urge the Egyptian soldiers to surrender when they were surrounded on the eastern bank of the Canal.

Now he laughs. The peace with Israel is what most Egyptians want, he assures us. The Lebanese and the Palestinians should follow Egypt's example and learn to solve their own problems. Otherwise they deserve what they get.

Later he asks Rafik Halaby, the Druse TV reporter, "What's it like living among them, isn't it strange working with them and writing about your people — the Palestinians?"

We ask Naji if he thinks the Saudis and Kuwaitis in their white galabiyas and red-checked kuffiyas at a table behind us would be prepared to talk to Israeli journalists. "Better not to," he says

apologetically. "They often have bad manners. Their money makes them think that they are better than us, but we Egyptians just ignore them."

The Egyptian leadership remains as disparaging as ever about the other Arab states. "Damascus, Tripoli and Tel Aviv are now in the same trench," wrote Mussa Sabri in *Al-Akhar* on Wednesday. "Who supports Iran?" he asked. "Assad, Gaddafi and Begin."

WHILE ISRAEL invades Lebanon, Syria agrees to extend the UN mandate on the Golan. Egypt moves closer to Saudi Arabia, Jordan and the Gulf states, there are hysterical protests from the "crazies" — Assad and Gaddafi, wrote Sabri. "Who joins them? — Begin."

"What does the Steadfastness Front exist for — to strike at Iraq? Israel is attacking the Palestinians and finding its best allies in the Steadfastness Front," he mocked.

But Egyptian embarrassment over Israeli actions, which clearly ignore the cost to Egypt, is leading to frustration with the U.S. role in the area. Even before the invasion of Lebanon, Egypt felt that the U.S. was not doing all it could to "persuade" Israel on the autonomy issue and the dispute over Tabah.

"We are aware that there are limits to the extent of American influence and their willingness to use it," said a senior official.

There have already been hints that Egypt will turn to the European Community in order to try to pressure the Americans. But ultimately, everyone realizes, this is no more than cosmetics.

... Washington

By WOLF BLITZER/Post Washington Correspondent



Ronald Reagan. (Camera Press)

While most career bureaucrats are pressing for tough measures against Israel, other influential voices — including that of UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, as well as many senators and congressmen — are taking a considerably more sympathetic line towards Israel.

Both Reagan and Haig are widely seen as being personally, deep down, more inclined to go along with the Kirkpatrick school. But they may not be able to do so, according to some analysts.

The president and the secretary of state, it is well known, have no great love for the PLO or for Syria, both of which are perceived as politically and ideologically aligned with Moscow. Reagan and Haig may be chucking to themselves over the battering Syria and the PLO took from Israel these past few days. But they also are coming under strong pressure to move away from the Israeli corner.



Alexander Haig. (Camera Press)

of a bloody massacre of Syrian dissident elements by President Assad's regime. The Arab world was in disarray. Finally, Israel's on-time withdrawal from Sinai had been well appreciated.

That helps to explain the initially mild U.S. response. Editorials in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Baltimore Sun* and many other newspapers were clear-

ly sympathetic to Israel's case — as was congressional feedback to the White House and the State Department.

As the war escalated, however, this early U.S. support tended to erode. The perception grew that Israel may have deliberately misled everyone about its originally stated objectives. Israel had indeed moved beyond the 40 km. target set for the new buffer zone in Southern Lebanon. There was a sense that Israel was simply itching for a fight with the Syrians, despite all the public pleas for the Syrians to stay out of the contest. Questions, naturally, were asked about ultimate Israeli intentions.

Further hurting Israel's case were the widespread reports — officially confirmed by the State Department on Wednesday — that British authorities had concluded that the PLO was not involved in the assassination attempt against Ambassador Shlomo Argov in London. It was the work of Abu Nidal and "Black June," a dissident Palestinian group "opposed to PLO policy," the State Department said.

It was that shooting, of course, which led to the Israeli air strikes against the PLO on Friday. Those strikes, in turn, led to the PLO's shelling of Israeli towns, killing one Israeli and injuring four others. That PLO barrage of over 500 shells proved to be the straw that broke the camel's back. Israel invaded Lebanon on Sunday morning.

With hindsight, of course, the PLO had miscalculated Israeli intentions. They should not have shel-

led Israel. A MINORITY of U.S. officials are seeing some silver lining in the midst of all the current tensions. They recall, for example, that out of the three-week Yom Kippur War in 1973 there emerged a forceful and creative U.S. diplomacy, which reshaped the political landscape of the Middle East. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, embarking on his shuttle diplomacy, mediated Israeli disengagement agreements with Egypt and Syria. Anwar Sadat's eventual trip to Jerusalem was widely seen as a direct outgrowth of that early U.S. diplomatic effort.

Perhaps these U.S. officials believe that Haig, when he comes to the Middle East or in subsequent "shuttles" in the region, will be able to emulate his former boss. The new political facts of life in Lebanon might yet lead to a strengthening of the central authority in that war-torn country — at the expense of the PLO and the Syrians. That's what the U.S. and Israel actually want. U.S. officials accept Israel's repeated statements that it has no territorial ambitions in Lebanon. They also know that Washington will have to pay a price to obtain Israeli withdrawal. That price might turn out to be an actual U.S. presence in a reconstituted multinational peace-keeping force in Lebanon — one which will successfully bar a return of the PLO. Under the right circumstances, Israel is seen by the Americans as willing to go along with such an arrangement. In the meantime, they suspect, Israel will stay put.

The writer is the Washington correspondent of The Jerusalem Post.

...And Moscow

By RICHARD BALMFORTH/Reuters Correspondent

tlement between Israel and Egypt, which effectively drove Moscow on to the diplomatic sidelines in the Middle East.

The government newspaper *Izvestia* said Wednesday that the invasion is intended to prepare the way for the second stage of the Camp David process.

Alexander Bovin, a senior political commentator for the newspaper, said the Israeli plan is for Lebanon, cowed by Israeli military strength, to reach a separate agreement with Israel along Camp David lines.

Such an agreement would mean

the end of Palestinian bases in Lebanon and that Palestinians living there would be stripped of their status as refugees.

The weakening of the PLO will lead to Jordan being drawn into the Camp David network, Bovin wrote. Israel, he said, believes the idea of an independent Palestinian state will disappear with Palestinians being granted "ephemeral autonomy within a state of greater Israel," he added.

Diplomats say generally that Moscow's posture has been mild, a reflection of its limited diplomatic role in the region.

It has condemned the Israeli action, called for an immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops and warned that the invasion "may cost Israel and its people dearly."

But diplomats noted that it makes no positive offers of aid to Israel's opponents.

The Kremlin's plans for the Middle East are for an international peace conference involving the U.S., the Arab states, Israel and the PLO.

The Communist Party organ *Pravda* said yesterday that Israel's invasion of Lebanon is part of a Camp David-conceived plan to

eliminate Arab countries one by one.

"Egypt was taken out of the Arab ranks at that time (of the Camp David agreements), and now Tel Aviv and Washington consider Lebanon the weakest link..."

"Finally the aim is to largely weaken Syria so that it is reconciled with the loss of the Golan Heights and becomes more pliable toward the Camp David agreements."

The Soviet newspaper said Israel hopes to rout the PLO in Lebanon and "Downgrade the Palestinian people to the status of refugees and break their will in the struggle for the right to have an independent state of their own."

The invasion is approved by Washington because of U.S. plans to turn the Middle East "into its important military-political springboard," *Pravda* said. (Reuters)

Fathers' sons

By MOTTI BEN-YANAI/Special to The Jerusalem Post

JUST TWO years ago he was worried about the biggest event of his life, his matriculation examinations. Or so the long-haired, blue-eyed soldier from Tel Aviv thought at the time.

Now, wearing a flak jacket and helmet, he lounged in the shade of his tank, looking up towards the looming castle of Beaufort, taken by the IDF only three days ago, in a battle that wrote a new chapter in Israel's military book of rules.

Palming his lighted cigarette, according to blackout orders, he seemed at ease. It was as if the sounds of war all around us were nothing to be concerned about.

While artillery shells fell and the earth shook with each new impact, while planes bombed targets up ahead, and the sound wake of their

passing was still in our ears, we talked.

"I used to be a freak, see?" he said, showing me the hole in his ear lobe where he used to wear an earring. "My family kept nagging me to be a ben adam — a man."

"They were sure I was on drugs. I wasn't, but they wouldn't believe it. After all, the papers were full of stories about drugs in the schools and all that, so how could it be otherwise?"

He grinned and added, "Most of us in my school never went that far."

Two pupils did get picked up on a drug charge, and then they took us all to the police station and interrogated us. It was hard on us, and even harder on our families.

"After that there was a joint campaign, at home and at school, against long hair, freaky dress and all that. They wanted us to be *ben adam* by their standards. We resisted right up to the day of our enlistment."

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POLITICAL DISPUTES on three continents were being conducted by force of arms this week amid rising international concern about the ability of the UN to guarantee world peace.

Two major powers were directly involved in fighting — Britain in the Falkland Islands and the Soviet Union in Afghanistan — while super-power interests were intimately tied up in the worsening conflict in the Middle East.

The two most serious conflicts — in the Middle East and in the Falklands — seemed destined to lead to further bloodshed, despite urgent UN calls for cease-fires.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, a central protagonist in one of the major conflicts currently before the UN, this week lamented the weakness of peace-keeping forces assigned by the world body.

Referring to the situation in the Middle East, she told the British Parliament: "These peace-keeping forces are too few and are not wholly effective... It is a tragedy. Only when we get an effective one will we be able truly to stop aggression."

Thatcher was replying to a question from former British foreign secretary David Owen, member of an international commission, which this month called for the strengthening of UN institutions in order to guarantee world peace.

Peace-keeping problems

By HARVEY MORRIS / London

Owen and his fellow commissioners, headed by former Swedish prime minister Olof Palme, criticized UN member states for turning to the Security Council only when a conflict was under way or on the verge of breaking out.

"The Security Council should adopt an initiating resolution explicitly calling upon the UN secretary-general to bring to its immediate attention potential threats to peace," the Palme Commission recommended.

LAUNCHING the commission's report this month, its members stressed the need to back the moral force of UN resolutions with armed force on the ground.

They acknowledged that, at the moment, UN peace-keeping forces are confined to little more than an observer role.

The commander of UN peace-keeping forces in South Lebanon, Lieutenant-General William Callaghan, said in a recent interview that there was little his multinational force could do to prevent large-scale violence in the area.

The situation was essentially a political problem, he said. In the event, when Israeli tanks rolled through the UN lines, there was little more the blue berets could do but register a verbal protest.

The Palme Commission's report, which will be studied in the margins of a current UN special session on disarmament, noted that the overwhelming majority of some 40 potentially explosive disputes between nations was in the Third World.

Most of the conflicts involved border and other territorial disputes between neighbours.

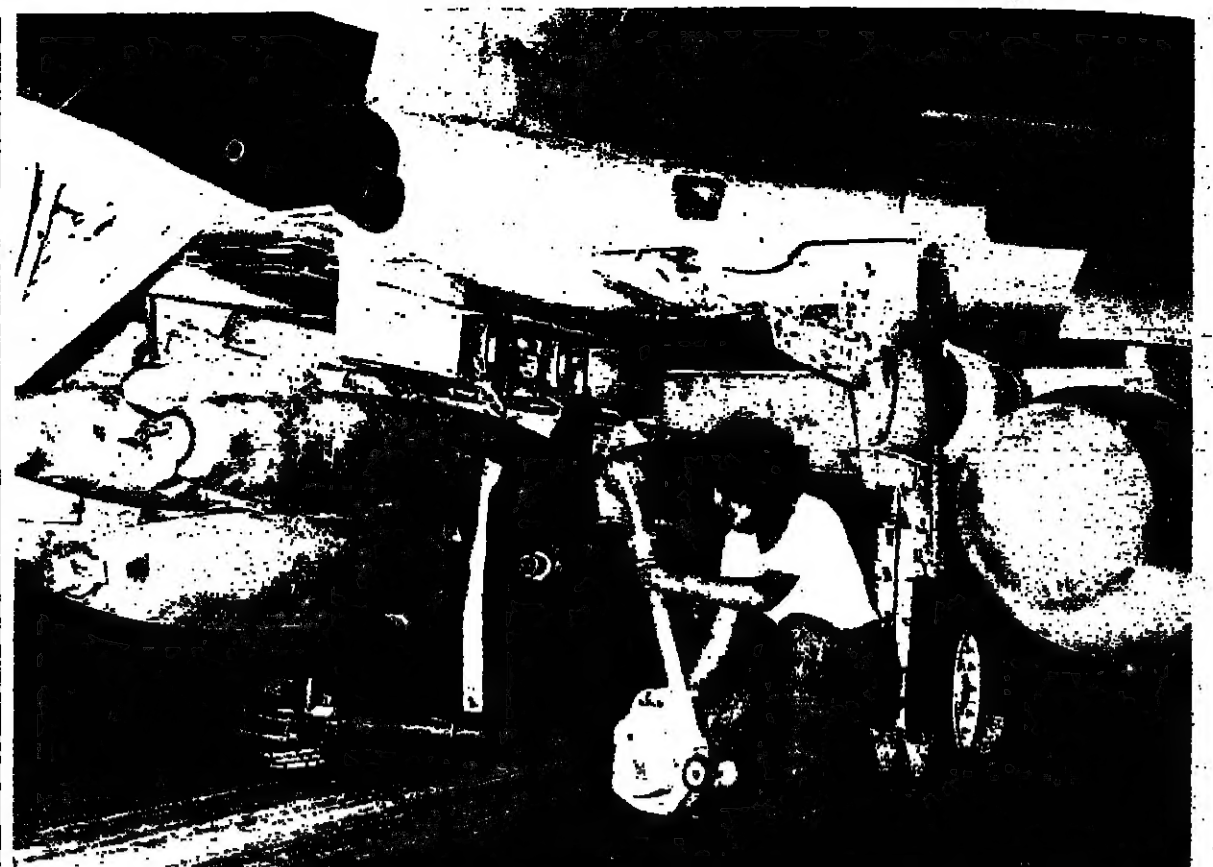
The commission called for a concordat between the five permanent members of the UN Security Council to support collective security action in all such conflicts, at least to the point of not exercising their right of veto.

The conflicts range from the Middle East dispute, with its worldwide ramifications, to allegations last month by Papua-New Guinea that Indonesian patrols had violated its borders.

AMONG THE CURRENT disputes that have led to open conflict despite peace efforts by the UN and such regional bodies as the Organization of African Unity and the Islamic Conference Organization are the Lebanon conflict, the Falklands dispute, the Gulf War, Afghanistan, Chad, torn by a civil war, Namibia, where UN-backed peace efforts have so far failed to arrange an independence settlement, and Kampuchea, which is occupied by 200,000 Vietnamese troops.

Warnings have also been sounded about the possible internationalization of internal conflicts in Central America, and the presence of UN peace forces in Cyprus are a reminder that dormant conflicts may, in the future, flare into open war.

(Reuters News Service)



Sima Osadon prepares a plane for a combat mission.

(IDF photo)

Back at the base

PEALS OF relieved laughter rang out across the tarmac as an excited Air Force ground crew grabbed the grinning young pilot and threw him into a tank of water. He had just landed safely at the end of his first combat mission and received the traditional dunking that placed him in the ranks of the veterans.

Sima Osadon, a 20-year-old soldier from Beersheba, sighed with relief and went back to work. Osadon is responsible for the arming and equipping of combat planes.

Loading bombs and missiles into the bays of combat craft has come to be accepted as just one of the jobs that need "a woman's delicate touch."

Osadon has a special feeling for her job. The Moroccan-born specialist is one of seven brothers and sisters, all serving in the IDF. She learned her military occupation in special courses in the Air Force and intends to study law when she finishes her military service.

Although ground crews are working around the clock, the pilots are having a hard time fighting boredom. Quartered in a five-star hotel, there are games, television and a library of video tapes at their disposal, but most of the time is spent talking shop. Young pilots, just getting ready for their first combat mission and others just coming back, enjoy the opportunity to exchange information with the "real veterans"; some of them so old (at least 34) they actually flew combat missions in the Six Day War.

The duty officer has problems, too. He has to be both fair and efficient in dividing the combat assignments between the reserve pilots and the newly trained. Everyone wants a place on the list but, as one pilot said, "we're over-manned."

Because of the possibility of sudden Syrian activity, the Air Force called up more pilots than it has missions.

One of the subjects most discussed is the performance of the improved Skyhawk aircraft. "This plane is a sweetheart," say the pilots. Most impressive is the maneuverability of the craft, allowing the pilot low flight for a closer look at a target, almost silent approaches and the possibility of pinpoint bombing which lessens the loss of life and damages to non-military installations in the target area.

Some of the waiting-around chat reminds one of Ezer Weizman's World War II story of lying in a fox hole under fire and seeing an RAF plane go over. "Ezer," he said to himself, "that's where you want to be."

Describing a mission over Sidon a pilot said "On the ground, war is hell, but up there even the fleet of the Israeli Navy, floating on a calm, blue sea, looked like a bunch of pleasure boats."

THOUSANDS of Palestinian and Lebanese fighters line Beirut's once-elegant seafont, waiting for an Israeli landing. Hundreds of gunmen roam the streets.

After a cacophony of anti-aircraft and shell fire all day Wednesday, Beirut was deathly quiet during the night, waiting and watching for a possible entry by Israeli troops poised to the south and east, only 10 km. away.

There were no restaurants, no night clubs, no electricity.

A million Beirutis stayed at home, listening to radios by gas and candle-light. An estimated 70,000 refugees squatted in parks, gardens and spare lots, stripped of everything but the bare essentials — bedrolls, a few clothes, rudimentary cooking utensils.

Along the seafont, a long line of guerrillas and gunmen manned anti-aircraft emplacements, Katyusha rocket launchers, artillery pieces and tanks.

Palestinian sources said "refugee

Waiting for the Israelis

By JULIE FLINT / Beirut

camp had emptied out in anticipation of an aerial bombardment.

Lebanese cursed the international community, and especially the Syrians with their "Lebanese peace-keeping force" for not doing anything to stop the fighting.

"It's a conspiracy of silence," said a young woman. "Lebanon is dead."

There was evidence, too, of burgeoning anti-foreign sentiment. A teenage gunman approached a Lebanese talking to an English girl: "Don't talk to her," he said. "Don't

talk to her."

He identified himself as an Iraqi Ba'athist, one of the scores of groups whose gunmen make Beirut's daily life bloody.

Beirutis found it hard to grasp the fact that the Israelis were within striking distance of their city, already in control of half their country.

Some, yearning for peace after seven years of random violence, wondered whether an Israeli presence might bring tranquillity; "I won't fight them," said a young

doorman. Blue and white Israeli flags flew over the captured towns of the Shouf. Local militiamen, allied with the PLO, reportedly offered little resistance to the Israelis.

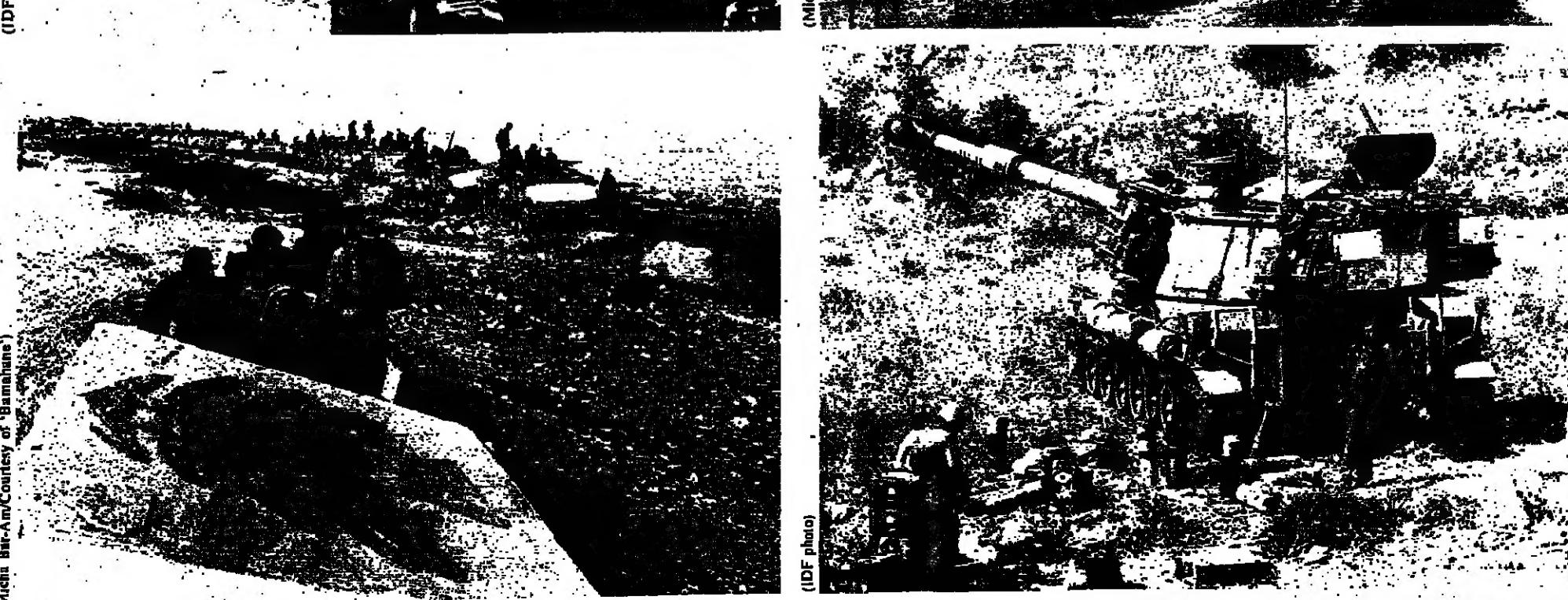
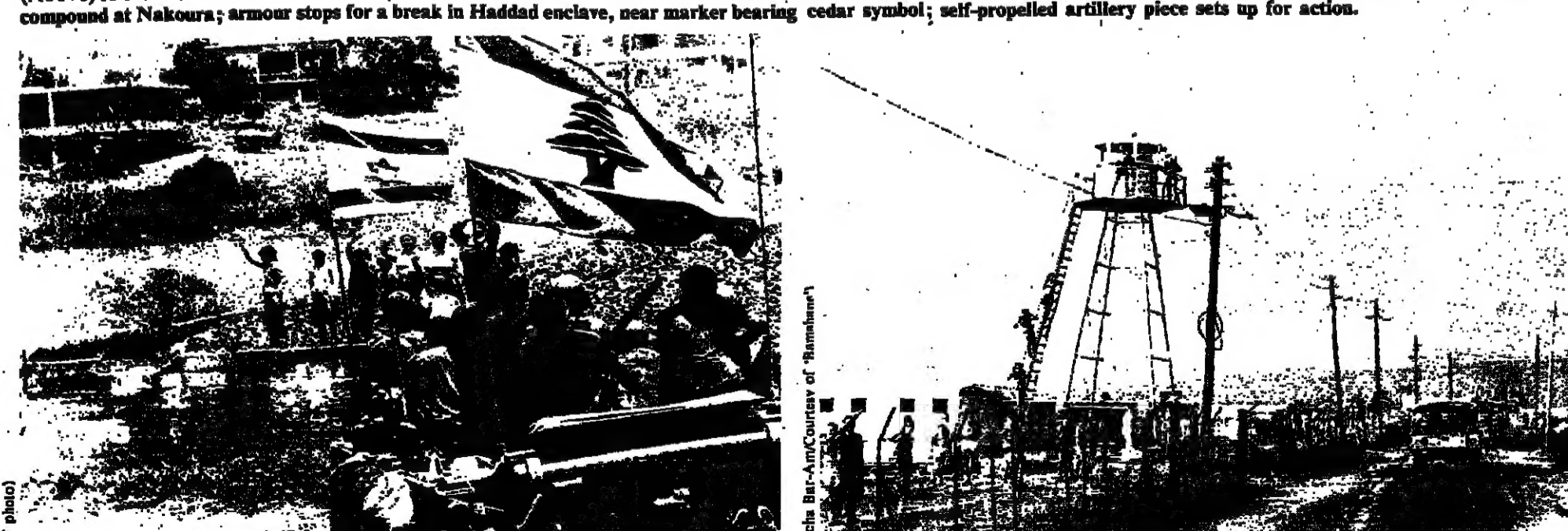
"There are just two choices," said one militiaman in the town of Beit Eddine, the summer home of Lebanon's President Elias Sarkis. "Either you hand the weapons over, or they shoot you."

In West Beirut, the PLO's nerve centre, chaos reigned as the city's population was swelled by an estimated 70,000 refugees from the south. Guerrillas shot their way into unoccupied apartments in a search for shelter as civilian residents stocked up on a store's dwindling food and other supplies. Israeli gunboats patrolled the shore off Beirut, coming within just 3 km. of the shore and drawing heavy anti-aircraft fire from Palestinian and leftist Lebanese gunners on the seashore.

(United Press International)



(Above) Armour on the Lebanese beach. (Below) On the road to Sidon, Israeli armoured personnel carrier has Lebanese and Israeli flags; Israeli convoy rolls past the UNIFIL compound at Nakoura; armour stops for a break in Haddad enclave, near marker bearing cedar symbol; self-propelled artillery piece sets up for action.



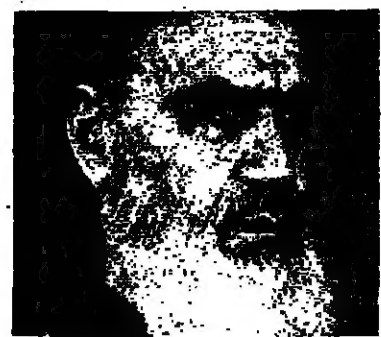
(Above) What sign? Notice entering UNIFIL sector reads: "The carriage of firearms/explosive devices and the wearing of military uniforms beyond this point, by unauthorized personnel, is strictly prohibited." (Below) Soldiers cool their feet in the waters of the Litani River.



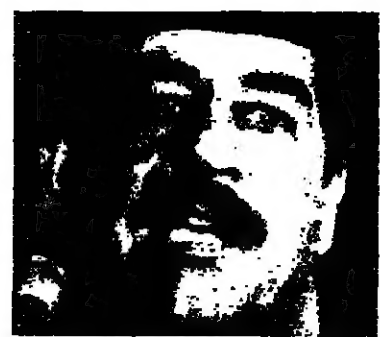
דפוס ירושלים

A NEW BALANCE IN THE GULF

By MORDECHAI ABR



Ayatollah Khomeini (Camera Press)



Saddam Hussein (Camera Press)

A FEW WEEKS ago Radio Riyadh declared that the war between Iran and Iraq overshadowed the Arab-Israeli conflict and that the situation in the Gulf took precedence over other regional conflicts. The new attitude of the conservative camp, led by Saudi Arabia, has been clearly demonstrated throughout the operation which Israel is conducting against the PLO. Analysts are even beginning to believe that the slow and mild reaction of most Arab countries to the events in Lebanon is motivated by self-interest.

On Wednesday night it was announced that the Iraqi Ba'athist government is ready to withdraw unilaterally from all Iranian territories following a cease-fire. It also called upon Tehran to join Baghdad in a Muslim effort against Israel. The complexities in the Middle East are capable of some subtle ironies. The mullahs now begin to realize that their war with Iraq is helping Israel and that they may soon be accused of anti-Islamic action. This, and Syria's predicament, in addition to exhaustion and internal constraints in Iran, may cause the "moderate" majority among the Iranian clergy to agree to the opening of serious negotiations with Baghdad.

The Iranian victories in the prolonged war with Iraq have consolidated the power of the Islamic Republican Party's (IRP) government in Tehran. The backbone of the Fedayeen e-Khalq opposition has been broken; and the power of the other opposition movements has now been substantially reduced. Yet the mullahs are deeply divided over

how to run the war and the economy and the question of Imam Khomeini's succession.

Despite bitter rivalry and "ideological" differences, several power groups among the clergy which support Khomeini and the succession of the Imamate, have forced a loose coalition called "The Imam's Line." This coalition now dominates the government and the Majlis. To a lesser or a greater extent they support centralization and a state-planned and controlled economy.

A second powerful faction called "The Khojatieh" speaks for the more puritan elements among the mullahs. It is represented in the government by Foreign Minister Valayeti and Defence Minister Mousavi Salimi, among others. The Khojatieh opposes the popular tendency to substitute the imam for the expected messianic Shi'i (12th) mahdi. The imam, they point out, is but a pathfinder whose role is to pave the way for the mahdi's appearance. Its purist fundamentalism advocated a self-sufficient "capitalistic" socio-economic system similar to the one that existed in the days of the Prophet Mohammed. It strongly objects to a state-controlled economy and state-initiated development.

THE ARMY commanders maintain that Iran cannot afford to invade Iraq because it does not have the

resources. Furthermore, such an action could consolidate the Arab camp and bring about a confrontation with the U.S. The main bloc within "The Imam's Line," led by President Ali Khamenei, Prime Minister Mousavi and Khomeini's heir-elect Montazeri, appears to have accepted these arguments. The latter even declared recently that, following the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's "satanic" regime, Iran will demand \$150b. in reparations.

The Khojatieh and some leaders from the other camp tend, however, to support Mohsen Rezai, the Pasdaran (Revolutionary Guards) commander, who has declared that his forces will continue their victorious advance to Karbala, the Shi'i holy city in Iraq.

It now appears as though the majority in the Iranian government

generally agrees with the stance of the army command. Nonetheless, it would welcome and even encourage a situation in which internal forces in Iraq were to overthrow Saddam Hussein's hated regime. A fundamentalist Arab-Iranian coalition — with a population of nearly 55m. and an oil export capacity of about 8m. barrels a day — could bring about a collapse of all the corrupt regimes in the Middle East and enable Iran to take over Saudi Arabia's key position in the world's oil market.

Damascus helped Tehran to victory by shipping vast quantities of Soviet arms to Iran, by halving Iraq's oil exports, and by putting pressure on Amman and on Baghdad's western front. Ironically, Syria's Ba'ath regime has different aspirations from Iran. Damascus hopes to replace Saddam's regime with a "progressive" pro-Syrian one which, joining their own, would create a new balance of power in the Arab Middle East. Damascus has argued that an alliance between Iran and the two Ba'athist regimes, the PLO, Libya, and Algeria would be sufficiently strong to obstruct any attempt to rehabilitate Egypt and to block Washington's aspirations in the region and eventually to

challenge Israel. The Iranian victories, rumours that Iranian forces are ready to invade the Gulf principalities, and suspicions that the Iranians are ready to aid attempts to overthrow the Sheikdom governments are terrifying the regimes of the Gulf states.

Despite enormous purchases of sophisticated arms, the member countries of the Council for Gulf Cooperation are all well aware of their internal vulnerability and military feebleness. Since 1980, Riyadh alone has purchased \$25b. worth of sophisticated arms. This is in addition to about \$30b. worth ordered between 1971 and 1980. And yet it seems as though the quantities have only encumbered the Saudi army and made it, temporarily at least, less efficient. Washington, even if it had suf-

ficient conventional forces (Rapid Deployment Force) is still considered an undesirable ally in intra-Arab and intra-Muslim struggles. THAT LEAVES Egypt. Egypt has already sold \$1.5b. worth of ammunition, spares and arms to Iraq. Cairo's munition, spares and helicopter factories in Helwan and Heliopolis are producing to full capacity. An Egyptian ship was loaded recently with 50 Soviet T-55 tanks bound for Iraq (replaced by American M-60s). An additional 100 T-55s and T-54s are also being readied for shipment, it is rumoured.

The Egyptian air force, however, cannot spare any of its Mig-23s and 21s because it has yet to receive enough American-made F-4s and F-16s as replacements. Beirut's *Al-Nahar*, *Report and Record* claimed at the end of May that 40-60 Egyptian pilots had reached Iraq. Their skills, together with the substantial quantities of spares airlifted from Egypt to Baghdad, may explain the recent revival of the Iraqi air force. However, such limited aid cannot turn the tide of events.

Egypt's President Mubarak has declared that Egyptian troops will not be sent to Iraq. However, he added that his government would reconsider its position if Iran invaded Iraq. The many former Egyptian servicemen and officers who

have gone to work in the Iraqi oilfields and industry could easily be seconded to Baghdad. But unless Cairo were able and willing to commit several Egyptian divisions to service in the Gulf, Egyptian support might be insufficient to deter the mullahs in Tehran.

And there's the rub. Much as Egypt may be reluctant to become involved in the Gulf war now that the Iraqi regime is determined to end it at all costs, Cairo and Washington cannot permit the emergence of a Tehran-Baghdad-Damascus-Tripoli alliance which could threaten all the conservative regimes in the Middle East.

INDIRECTLY, the Israeli operation in Lebanon may contribute to the consolidation of the situation in the Gulf. Syria's ability to support Iran has been greatly reduced, nor does it present a threat any more to Baghdad and Amman. Its plans to create a strong anti-Western radical axis also looks unrealistic at the moment.

Israel has virtually achieved its maximum military objectives and should attempt now to translate them into political gains. Jerusalem should not lose sight, however, of the supreme objective of its people and government — a comprehensive peace agreement with the Arabs. Another humiliation of the Arabs, like what happened as a result of the Six Day War, will not contribute to the attainment of this goal.

The writer is professor of Middle East studies at the Hebrew University.

Mutual self-interest

By DAVID KRIVINE

WAR TURNS everything topsy-turvy. Many Israelis were appalled when the Israel army moved into Lebanon on Sunday. They thought the whole world would come down on this country like a ton of bricks.

It hasn't happened. Secretary of State Haig pronounces gravely that future arrangements in Lebanon will have to make sure that Israeli settlements are not exposed any longer to enemy gunfire.

No one said that before Israel's act of invasion. The Karyshas could have gone on firing into Kiryat Shmona and Nahariya till kingdom come. Life is like that; only the strong arm is respected. The history of the Jewish people is one long testimony to the futility of non-violence.

For 2,000 years, the Jews never drew a sword or fired a pistol. Their reward: periodic bouts of harassment and slaughter.

Theoretically Yossi Sarid is right and *Begin* wrong: the way to achieve peace is not to make war. In practice, that doesn't work; ex-

perience makes hawks of all of us. Israel is disliked for conducting successful military operations (each country approves only of its own victories). But Israel only exists because of that.

Had we relied on the milk of human kindness, we would have continued to suffer crushing blows — in the Forties, in the Fifties, in the Sixties, in the Seventies and, if the PLO had continued building up its armed power with no Israeli opposition, in the Eighties, too.

THE CAMP DAVID agreement extended Israel's hand of friendship to the Arab world. Come and negotiate with us, we told the Egyptians and the Jordanians and the Palestinians. There followed this week's invasion of Lebanon. Pounding the Arabs as we have done from air, land and sea cannot be described as an act of conciliation. Have we not wrecked our bargaining position?

We have; but then it had been wrecked already, by previous

military conflicts. Here again, there is a perplexing paradox in human behaviour. Israel's relations with Egypt since the days of King Farouk are drenched with blood, which did not prevent the signing of a peace treaty by President Sadat.

Being nice and pacific-minded and uttering brotherly declarations gets us nowhere. There is a reason for that. We are not going to give up our national home (which the Arabs think belongs to them), so honeyed words and gestures of friendship from us seem hypocritical to them.

It may be better to take a hard line. Politics is a process of negotiation between egotists. Let us wipe that ingratiating smile off our

faces and talk about our own self-interest. What cards have we to play?

A DEADLY struggle is developing within the Arab world. On one side stand the Islamic fundamentalists, headquartered in Iran. They seek their allies in the anti-Western, anti-capitalistic camp: Castro's Cuba, Libya, the Red Brigades, the Communists.

On the other side are the more stable societies, intent on preserving the status quo: Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, Morocco. Their problem is the Moslem militants, who plan to annihilate the existing order. Israel is a sideshow.

The PLO stand with the radical

fundamentalists. The Arab powers neighbouring on Israel reacted mildly to the Lebanese incursion, not because they are unable to wield the big stick but because, let us face it, the PLO does not belong to their camp. Israel's behaviour is less distasteful to them than it might be. The enemy of my enemy (they seem to be thinking) can be a useful kind of chap.

The PLO has its head in the clouds. Its purpose is to eradicate Israel completely, which means saddling the Middle East with an eternal Arab-Jewish war. The Israelis have proved once again in the Lebanon that they are here to stay.

Moderate Arab governments

want to solve problems, not to exacerbate them. Israel is a problem that admits of a solution. Arab leaders are thinking about it, as is evidenced by the Camp David agreement, the Prince Fahd proposal.

The PLO does not want any solutions. This puts them, whether Arafat likes it or not, in the ranks of the fundamentalists — those whose philosophy it is to reject solutions: the Marxists, the terrorists, the mullahs in Iran, Gaddafi.

In battling against the PLO, Israel is weakening the radical front in the Arab-Muslim world; which does not necessarily run counter to the long-term interests of the anti-revolutionary pro-Western Arab bloc. In beating the Palestinians, Israel has indirectly humiliated the Syrians; it has in no way humiliated the Egyptians or the Jordanians or the Saudis. They may make disparaging noises, but that is for show. Everyone in the Arab world knows how the cards are stacked.

A settlement may therefore be

possible between Israel and the moderate Arabs, based on a recognition that such an arrangement could serve a mutual interest. Israel does not want to be hostile. It has given up Sinai, has made it clear it does not intend to annex any part of Lebanon, and could be accommodated within the frontiers of Mandatory Palestine, give or take areas in the West Bank and Gaza that are Arab-inhabited.

If Saudi Arabia and Jordan could bring themselves to negotiate a "Camp David agreement" of their own with Israel, they would be closing a festering sore on their flank. Israel would gladly accept a posture of benevolent neutrality, ready to trade with and aid those Arab states with which it was at peace.

The states in question could then concentrate their minds on defending themselves against the real threat to the survival of their regimes — the elemental force of destruction embodied in the wild men of Lebanon.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

Strategy for Lebanon

By MORDECHAI NISAN

ISRAELI action in Lebanon reflects one of the greatest national frustrations this country has experienced in policy-making since 1948: the problematics of translating military strength into a political capacity to alter the attitudes of Arab countries towards Israel and the pattern of relationships with the Jewish State.

It is widely accepted in Israel that diplomacy will not be able to eliminate Syrian SAM missile batteries or PLO T-34 tanks in Lebanon. It is equally understood that Israel cannot abandon the defence of the northern settlements, nor should they be vacated in times of attack from across the border. The sovereign state of Israel cannot empty Metulla in 1982, as the Zionist Organization did in 1920. In fact, to allow the PLO a military respite in Lebanon is almost to accord it political legitimacy — which is totally unacceptable for Israel's national interest.

Therefore, warfare will remain the ultimate means of Israeli policy towards the terrorist-Syrian threat entrenched in Lebanon. Under these circumstances, there is no gainsaying the classic military doctrine employed by Israel to carry the fighting onto enemy territory in order to limit its civilian casualties.

Furthermore, Israel must develop a strategic conception that expands the initial imperative of "securing the northern settlements" into a more fundamental strategy of altering the structure of relations and power in this area of the Middle East.

Merely waiting for an imminent Arab attack, without planning a broad pre-emptive strategy, was psychologically reminiscent of un-

realistically hoping the ghetto walls would keep the pogromists out. They never did, of course.

LET ME briefly indicate a set of political goals that should be the focus of Israel's military efforts in Lebanon. Such an articulation of goals is crucial for two basic reasons. People inevitably die in warfare, and the national leadership should indicate what long-range purpose their loss might serve.

Secondly an articulation of goals indicates that this country is engaging in military action not for revenge, smacking of irrational adventurism, but that a rational political vision guides and inspires Israel's defence of its basic national interests. The Israel Government must explain its policy in Lebanon to educate the nation at home and to defend its interests abroad. Anything less would be a gross abdication of national responsibility and would further damage Israel's image in the world.

Four political purposes should underlie Israeli military action in Lebanon:

□ The forging of a Jewish-Christian (or Israeli-Lebanese) alliance that unites two small Middle Eastern peoples/religions against the imperialistic, centralizing impulse of Arab-Muslim expansionism. This political alliance, with its biblical roots (Solomon and Hiram), is a powerful and appealing idea in the broad context of Western civilization.

More importantly, it is of grave regional necessity to highlight the struggle of small minorities (Jews, Maronites, Copts, Kurds, Druse, Armenians, etc.) against the Sunni-Arab forces centred in Cairo, Baghdad and Riyadh. In this con-

text, the role of the Shi'ites in Lebanon is pertinent, as the PLO has often attacked them; interestingly, Israeli aid to the Iranian Shi'ites is consistent with this broad regional coalition against Arab-Sunni power.

□ The establishment of a Christian-Lebanese political entity that concretizes Major Sa'ad Haddad's call of April 1979 for a "Free Lebanon." Israel has assisted the Maronites in many important ways. This, however, falls short of articulating a salient political goal against the intruding PLO and Syrian forces.

Israel must complement its military efforts in Lebanon with a political effort supporting Lebanon as a Christian political community, with an autonomous national economic, social and military infrastructure. Joint delegations of Israelis and Maronites should broadcast this political message abroad and seek support for it. The point should be made that Israel's military policy serves to help liberate the Christians from a foreign yoke and establish a framework of political freedom for an ancient people.

□ The breaking of Syrian political hegemony in Lebanon, as Hafez Assad is attempting to impose his vision of "Greater Syria" against the wishes of the native Lebanese population. The military hold Syria has

over large parts of Lebanon reflects a long-standing plan that Damascus seeks to implement against its vulnerable western neighbour. Israel must counter Assad's goal with its own, that of an Israeli-Lebanese alliance and the creation of a Christian-Lebanese political entity. With serious problems at home and a problematic image abroad (note the tension in French-Syrian relations), a Syrian military defeat in Lebanon may contribute to undermining Assad's position in Damascus. That would not be an unwelcome political development for Israel.

□ The implementation of a powerful political campaign against the PLO around the world, as Israel attacks its bases in Lebanon and demonstrates PLO responsibility for terrorism directed against Israeli targets.

Obviously, the PLO's military threat in Lebanon demanded an Israeli military response. Yet, we should use this moment as a political opportunity to undermine the PLO as a global threat to mankind.

Further, its military defeat can logically culminate in a political loss in the eyes of the world. The end of its occupation of parts of Lebanon will decrease its status in Arab and Western opinion. Israel's long-term claim must be to eliminate the PLO

as a political factor in Middle East politics and peace-making.

IN ALL of these efforts, Israel must sharpen its thinking, be aware of the potentialities for political action in the context of the military confrontation, and remain realistically encouraged by the opportunity to alter people's attitudes towards the parties involved in the Lebanese crisis.

It is not sufficient to seek just a military victory — which is a dubious concept — for it is morally imperative to set our sights also on restructuring the distribution of

power and altering the quality of political relations in this region.

The necessity of cultivating a clear political strategy in Lebanon derives from a very basic fact, that the earlier political vacuum there was filled by hostile PLO and Syrian elements. UNIFIL was unable to alter this dangerous situation, and the Christians (and the Shi'ites) are not yet powerful enough to successfully challenge it. Therefore, Israel is perforce obligated to play a central role where no single domestic factor can eliminate the threats poised against Israel within Lebanon.

It will do no good to want to change fundamentally the situation in Lebanon, to put an end to the artillery barrages against the northern settlements by an Israeli military thrust and demand an immediate pullback when the smoke clears. That short-term feeling of success will necessarily be followed by a

long-term pattern of violence. Israel cannot pledge its military might as an instrument to achieve basic political changes if this country lacks the national will to persist in a long-term undertaking. Some form of an Israeli presence in Lebanon would not be designed as a military occupation force, but as a political liberating force in the interests of Israeli-Lebanese amity and Christian political independence.

The pre-condition for a peaceful Galilee is still a peaceful Lebanon, and it is questionable whether that is achievable if Israel refrains from helping to fill the political vacuum in that country. This is the hard political decision Israel must consider now that it has already implemented a hard military decision.

The writer lectures at the Hebrew University's Rothberg School for Overseas Students.

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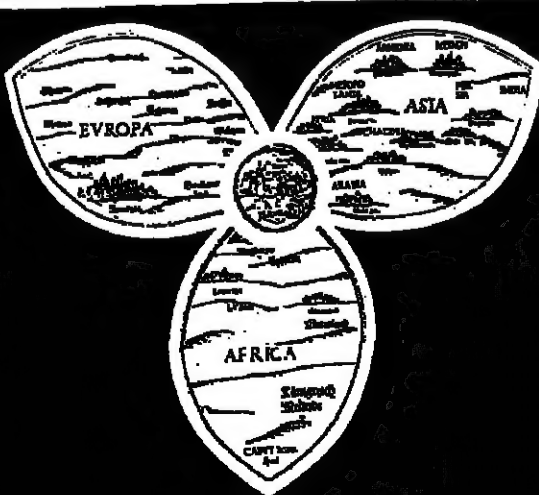
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IT WAS heartening to hear from Washington that U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig let slip the comment: "We only lost one plane and a helicopter, and it's claimed that another copter was downed." Which is in stark contrast to the censure of "Operation Peace for Galilee" issued in Paris by Life President of the World Jewish Congress, Dr. Nahum Goldmann.

BEHIND THE front lines, life continues — one might say it's business as usual. When the Bank Leumi group marked its 80th anniversary international banking conference with a festive dinner at the Knesset on Sunday night, board chairman Ernst Japhet, who shared a table with Knesset Speaker Menachem Savidor and U.S. Ambassador Samuel Lewis, expressed his appreciation that the keynote speaker, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, had found the time to attend. Replied Shamir: "One always honours a commitment to a banker."

As the week progressed, the cocktail circuit curtailed its activities. Discount Bank's Bemo Gitter and his wife, Alice, postponed a Tuesday evening party launching Na'amat's 1982 fund drive. (Gitter is president of the campaign, while Leah Rabin is chairman.) Among the captains of private industry and finance whom fund drive organizer Sarika Harmelin, got to help the Histadrut women's organization this year were insurance tycoons Salomo Eliahu (Eliahu) and David Hakmi (Phoenix), and Manufacturers' Association President Eli Hurvitz.

The latter, incidentally, managed to complete negotiating the new wage agreements with Histadrut trade union chief Israel Kessar, although both have been called up to their reserve units. The two men studied at the Hebrew University in the late Fifties.

Another member of the Na'amat drive committee Yedior Aharonov publisher Noah Moses, decided to cancel what had promised to be the biggest wedding of the season at the Accadia Hotel of son Noam to Michal (née Efron), to which 2,000 people had been invited. Instead he and his wife, Pamela, and the in-laws, held the *huppa* in the family circle.

UNLIKE OTHER events, national days can't be postponed or cancelled. Italian Ambassador Girolamo Nisio and his wife Ila put on an elegant garden party for their National Day on Monday in the grounds of their Tel Binyamin house, which in the early years of the State served as the home of foreign minister Moshe Sharett. Diplomatic small talk naturally gave way to speculation on the course of events up north. I was glad to find Egyptian Ambassador Sa'ad Mortada in such excellent spirits. He said, "I have never felt any better," in answer to my question.

WHEN I PHONED British Ambassador Patrick Moberley midweek to

A 'we' show of solidarity

PUBLIC FACES / Mark Segal



Yitzhak Rabin (left), Matti Golan

(Rubinger, Hader)



Mordechai Virtschinsky (left), Sa'ad Mortada

(IFPA, Millman)

find out whether yesterday's planned celebration of Queen Elizabeth's birthday was still on, his secretary told me that he was up in Jerusalem. When I asked whether the party might be called off, there was a stunned silence for a moment, followed by the retort that "We would never cancel Her Majesty's birthday celebration."

Later I learned that Moberley had gone up to the capital to attend a long-scheduled luncheon meeting of EEC countries' envoys with Foreign Minister Shamir, at the Jerusalem Plaza. The affair, which has become a permanent event on the local diplomatic calendar, was chaired by Belgium Ambassador Edouard Decastiaux-Hagot. Our minister was accompanied by four of his senior staff — director-general David Kinche, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Yohanan Meroz and Ze'ev Safot.

OUR BOYS at the front will undoubtedly be glad to know that our irreverent sense of humour has not left us. They're saying that following Premier Menachem Begin's well-timed visit to Beaufort Castle, he had a touch of Beaufort on the helicopter flight back to meet U.S. envoy Philip Habib.

Incidentally, Begin has broken new ground by giving the anti-terrorist drive into Lebanon its name. Until now, titles for military operations originated at Army GHQ, usually from the chief-of-staff or the army commander.

DID ANYONE notice how Begin managed so smoothly to stop Defence Minister Ariel Sharon from hogging the entire TV Mabat spotlight during his visit to Beaufort Castle?

THE COUNCIL for a Beautiful Israel's Esther Rubin asked me to advise all invited guests to their anniversary dinner set for Sunday June 20 that it had been put off for the time being. She also wondered on hearing the radio appeals of Mrs. Shoshana Aridor to salaried Israelis, urging them to donate to soldiers, whether her husband, Finance Minister Yoram Aridor might also persuade some of Israel's stock exchange speculators to donate some of their untaxed profits to the same cause?

BEFORE GOING into Lebanon, Arik showed he could also stick the proverbial knife in with the best of them. He joined forces with Interior Minister Yosef Burg in response to

the wily NRP leader's drive to keep Communications Minister Mordechai Zupor from taking the police portfolio away from him. Burg apparently played on Sharon's apprehension that Zupor would be co-opted onto the cabinet defence committee if he became minister of internal security.

THE HERUT convention is likely to be postponed for at least a month. The war has prompted a hiatus in the bitter political in-fighting.

Analysis of last week's Herut internal elections indicate a resounding victory for Deputy Premier David Levy and his (so far) ally, Finance Minister Yoram Aridor, especially in the main branches. In Jerusalem, their supporters — Transport Minister Haim Coria and former mayoral candidate Yehoshua Matza, swept the ticket of delegates, while their rival, Israel Broadcasting Authority chairman Prof. Reuven Yaron, barely scraped through.

Among those who failed to be elected were former government secretary Arye Naor.

In Tel Aviv, the forces backing Aridor, guided by Herut organization chief Michael Reiser, took most of the delegates, leaving Herut Knesset faction head Ramele Milo's list, led by hotelier Haim Schiff, with only a handful. Levy's forces did less well in Haifa, where Shamir backed Prof. Yosef Rom fell before the group of Deputy Knesset Speaker Meir Cohen. It was only in Beersheba that a group led by Arik Sharon's *hasid* local lawyer Yosef Eliaz, won a majority.

WHILE Yitzhak Rabin may have aired reservations publicly (and in an interview with me) on Arik Sharon's far-ranging strategic plans for Lebanon, he had only praise — I heard — for his old army comrade's designs at a private dinner party in Tel Aviv last Saturday night.

The war has also put into the cooler the revived leadership battle inside Labour — Hebrew Book Week saw the release of *Haaretz* columnist Matti Golan's biography of Shimon Peres under the Schocken imprint, which is said to contain a series of sharp attacks on Rabin. That, I've been told, is a bid to preempt a Rabin barrage against Peres in the next chapter of his memoirs.

THE IMPENDING departure of *Davar* columnist Danny Bloch as labour attaché to Washington and Ottawa, has started a fight for the seat he'll vacate on the Broadcasting Authority management

committee. It seems that Peres personally (and simultaneously) promised the place to four of his supporters — Knesset faction secretary Israel Peleg, *Ma'ariv's* Shmuel Segal, *Davar's* Hagai Eshed and Amiram Nir. To complicate matters, one of the party's communal activists, Dr. Shimon Shalit, is also seeking the job, as is *Davar's* Niba Lani-Pilevsky, the *de facto* Rabin spokesperson.

THE SMALL Shinui party was this week wracked with sharp dissent over the way Mordechai Virtschinsky joined the left-wing in abstaining during Tuesday's DFPE-sponsored no-confidence motion. The party's No. 2 MK ignored Shinui chairman Amnon Rubinstein's entreaties not to compete with Yossi Sarid and Shulamit Aloni for the headlines. In Shinui's Tel Aviv branch, there's talk of asking for his mandate back.

UNDOUBTEDLY one of the most fascinating non-war stories of the week was the sudden visit here of a Russian Orthodox Church delegation from the Moscow Patriarchate led by Archbishop Nikodemus. When the group called on Dr. Burg in his capacity as minister for religious affairs, the archbishop said he was praying for the peace of Jerusalem and for good relations between Israel and its neighbours. What I found significant was that in the official communiqué it was announced that the delegation comprised eight churchmen and two professors — but it failed to say what they were professors of.

A RAPID Tel Aviv University audience on Tuesday heard Princeton Prof. Bernard Lewis give a brilliant lecture on "Occidentalism — the study of the West in the East" under the auspices of the Mortimer and Raymond Sackler Institute of Advanced Studies, chaired by its director, Prof. Yuval Ne'eman. I asked Lewis about the way Arabists howled about his *Encounter* articles on the Arab tradition of political assassinations, and his well-documented article on anti-black racism in Islam. His comment: "It'll be nothing compared to their reaction when my new book comes out."

THE OTHER WAR: Poalei Agudat Israel's newsmen Yitzhak Hildesheimer has let me have a copy of the new weekly format of the defunct party daily *She'arim*. This week's banner headline referred to eye-witness reports from Buenos Aires of a mass burial of 14 Jewish



Diplomatic wives have style and they showed it off at the Herzliya home of U.S. Ambassador Samuel Lewis last week where U.S. Embassy wives and female personnel modelled garments at a charity fashion show. Pictured with the ambassador's wife, Sallie Lewis (centre), are Mrs. Tina Jeffry and Mrs. Barbara Bailey, of the American Women's Association in garments by Pasache.

soldiers who fell in the battle for the Falklands (Malvinas), at the central Jewish cemetery in Buenos Aires, attended by the country's President, General Leopoldo Galtieri. The paper reported the presence of 200 Jewish soldiers among the Argentinean soldiers fighting there.

BUSINESS NOT AS USUAL: Nine volunteer chefs, waiters and chambermaids from the Tel Aviv Hilton are spending the duration of the war helping out the overworked

personnel of Kiryat Shmona's Zafon Hotel. After the medium-sized establishment was overwhelmed by war correspondents and army brass, manager Zvi Goodman sent an SOS to his friend Tel Aviv Hilton manager Dieter Hocke, who asked his staff for volunteers. Shula Weiser of the Hilton PR staff told me that the nine volunteers remain on the Hilton payroll. She also gave the encouraging news that there had been few cancellations due to the war.

The undying debates

By HELGA DUDMAN / Jerusalem Post Reporter

THE YEAR 1944, as recalled by one of the veteran speakers, had been marked by several important actions. Among these, as he pointed out, was the assassination by two Lehi heroes of Lord Moyne, a front-rank British figure. Moyne had been colonial secretary and leader of the House of Lords, and was, at the time, Minister of State in Cairo.

At the moment of this nostalgic reference to the murder of Lord Moyne, in the gymnasium of the community centre in Yavneel, nobody could possibly have known that, in a few hours there would be an attempt to assassinate Israel's Ambassador in London, Shlomo Argov, with its almost immediate repercussions, back again in our region, in Lebanon.

I would give much to know Shamir's response to the question, unthinkable in some circles and inevitable in others, as to what makes an act heroic and politically correct under some circumstances, but a grisly crime under others. One answer, boiled down to its essentials, I am afraid, entirely subjective — "When the cause is yours." To this must always quickly be added that the whole moral framework of the old ends and means argument can switch instantly with time and the movement of events.

This means that as soon as the last enemy grave has been dug, we can all be friends again. At the pragmatic level of state requirements, it means that festive dinners with Germans take precedence over nostalgic recollections of fighting the supreme British enemy during World War II. But then, unlike many of his old underground colleagues, Shamir has a style, if not a message, that is acceptable to many Israelis; furthermore, once the atmosphere of *He-Saison* — the turning in of IZL and Lehi members to the British by the Hagana — was

over, his Lehi past did not disqualify him from service in the Mossad under Isser Harel.

OTHER QUESTIONS, not irrelevant today, are whether the violent policies of the undergrounds that opposed the Hagana, did, in fact, hasten the departure of the British, and whether such acts as the Moyne murder were in any effective way connected with the rescue of Jews in Europe.

Then there is the Arab question. Lehi members, for all their unswerving and unified idealism, qualities on which they had absolutely no monopoly, were by no means all cast from the same ideological mould. The movement embraced a decidedly left-wing element, including Nathan Yellin-Mor, which believed in cooperation with local Arabs against the common enemy, imperialist Britain. But of course, realities have changed for today's post-Lehi super nationalists. This also explains the prevalence of the phrase "With God's help," which did not drop easily from the lips of those freedom fighters but came into political style much later.

I had gone to the Yavneel ceremony mostly out of curiosity. For one thing, I wanted to see whether a reunion of old Lehi fighters would look all that different from a Palmach reunion. It didn't, although it was much smaller. Elderly survivors of early ideological storms look today, nearly to a man, as though they are concerned with the stock market and other trappings of sovereignty. I also wanted to know how it would feel to rise in a darkened hall and sing "*Hayalim Abnionim*." It felt strange. But Yair's Lehi hymn, if you don't know any better, sounds not unlike the more stirring Palmach songs — same Russian melodies, same martial fervour.

I had been taken to the ceremony by a friend who remains true to the Lehi principles of his youth, and considers himself to have been possibly the only active Lehi sympathizer in the Jordan Valley. On one occasion, he sheltered two unknown Lehi boys who had bombed a British car, while his wife washed their blood-stained clothes. On the night of the Yavneel incident, he was on duty at the Tsemach Police Station; he watched the British go off to Yavneel, and he watched them return.

My friend is fond of educating me as to the hatred that marked relations between the Hagana and its members in the surrounding settlements, and the outcasts of the other underground groups. On the way to Yavneel, he filled me in on the long dead rumour that the British had been told about "Zion" and "Eliezer" hideout by a top Hagana man at a nearby kibbutz.

If it is any comfort, I gather that today's political polarization is nothing but one long talkfest, enlivened by occasional, reversible deal-making, compared to the deadly hatreds of the years of *He-Saison*, when the Hagana made it all-out effort to root out the dissidents. "Saison" has a French flavour but according to another of my Lehi informants, the word comes from the Yiddish.

One of the attractions of the reunion, for my friend, was of course the chance of finding old comrades once again. But as he assured me, the first thing that occurs to everyone who rediscovers a fellow fighter is not any great surge of buried ideology but the unexpressed thought: "Good Lord, how old he looks!" One veteran he did find. A hearty Yavneel farmer, had indeed fought with my friend, not in Lehi but in the desperate Jordan Valley battles of the War of Independence. A fine-looking man with a white mustache, the father of five children, he has spent his life since worrying about crops and not ideology.

There had been a discussion at the community centre earlier that day, he told me, to explain the history of Lehi, to Yavneel's youngsters. "They take an extreme nationalist position today," he said. "Our children cannot understand how, in the atmosphere of *He-Saison* it was possible for Jews to betray other Jews."

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Austria honours Jerusalem writer

WRITER MAX ZWIG has lived in Jerusalem, quietly and unobtrusively, since 1977. Until recently, few people were even aware of his presence here. But now, with his play *Frankiska* being performed at the Wiener Festwochen, the spotlight has fallen on him.

Last week, a telegram from Vienna told him about the singularly complimentary reviews the play had received and announced that on June 11, the president of Austria

would attend a performance.

This success induced the writer to fly to Vienna to witness the recognition achieved through his play, just in time for his 90th birthday (on June 22).

Max Zwig was born in 1892 in Prossnitz, Moravia (then Austria, later called Prostějov in the CSR). He studied law in Vienna, and then lived from 1920-34 in Berlin. After four years in Prostějov, he immigrated to Eretz Yisrael in 1938 and lived in Tel Aviv until moving

to Jerusalem in 1977.

Habimah has performed his drama *The Marranos* more than 90 times, and his *Marijuri* (under the title *Two Worlds*) and *Saul* were performed on the occasion of the first anniversary of Israel's independence. His *Davida*, a free treatment of Trumpeldor's life, was performed in Paris, New York, Buenos Aires, and also at several kibbutzim. And his *Ghetto Warschau* was staged in Finland. Zwig's plays have also been performed in Ger-

many and Austria. In Austria, three of his plays were also broadcast on radio plays.

At the International Drama Competition at the Festival Bregenz (in Austria) in 1957, *Saul* was awarded second prize among 1,500 plays submitted.

Frankiska is scheduled to be performed nine times at the Vienna Festwochen on the occasion of the 800th anniversary of the birth of St. Francis.

Mustapha Khalil talks to The Post's David Bernstein during his visit to Israel last week

DR. MUSTAPHA KHALIL, former prime minister of Egypt and currently President Hosni Mubarak's deputy in the ruling National Democratic Party, left Israel last week, cautiously optimistic about future relations between the two countries, an optimism based on the manner in which Israel had fulfilled its commitments to Egypt under the first part of the Camp David Accords.

Shortly before leaving Israel, and before the latest hostilities started in Lebanon, Khalil spoke to *The Jerusalem Post* in his Tel Aviv hotel suite. He had just spent a week in Israel as guest of the Labour Party and, despite his optimism about Israel-Egypt relations, he was clearly concerned about — even exasperated by — what he appears to view as something less than Israeli good faith concerning the second part of those accords, those dealing with the West Bank and Gaza.

Khalil notes that despite the last minute hitches in Israel's withdrawal from Sinai, he "didn't have any doubt that this would take place on the specified time." And the fact that this optimism had not been misplaced left him "satisfied that the Israelis respected their commitment."

This, in turn, had made him optimistic about the future. "So, if I am to judge by past proceedings, I am optimistic. One has never to lose patience and one is not to be discouraged by any obstacles that might arise in the future."

KHALIL is reluctant, however, to concede that Israel's withdrawal from Sinai represented an indication of Israeli "good faith" — "I am not saying Israeli good faith; I am saying Israeli commitment."

This reluctance would appear, at least in part, to be due to events in Yamit in the weeks before the Sinai withdrawal.

Khalil admits he had "anticipated trouble" in Yamit, but notes that he didn't see any reason why, after the original settlers had received their compensation, "others should be pushed in to create trouble."

"Really, the incidents of the last two weeks [before the withdrawal] were created by people who did not belong to Yamit at all but who tried to demonstrate something which, in my opinion, is contrary to peace and contrary to the peace agreement."

Egypt, Khalil says, had deliberately remained silent on what was happening in Yamit in the final weeks — because "we did not want to complicate things, and we didn't want to interfere... We knew that the Israeli government was really doing its best to evacuate the newcomers, and we didn't like to interfere in the process."

He, personally, would have preferred to see Yamit left intact after Israel's withdrawal — "as a living sign of cooperation between the two countries" — but appears to harbour little personal bitterness about its destruction.

He notes that there are plans for Egypt to rebuild the town.

OF GREATER concern to Khalil, apparently, than what occurred in

'Egypt will never reverse her position on a comprehensive peace'

Yamit two months ago — "you know, as an engineer, I always deal with facts; I never go to sentiments, and I never revive the past" — is what he clearly views as Israel's present obduracy on such delicate issues as Jerusalem, the autonomy negotiations and settlements in the West Bank.

The ongoing controversy over Israel's insistence that Mubarak include Jerusalem on the itinerary of his still-awaited official visit to Israel is, Khalil believed, contrived, an unnecessary crisis of Israel's own making.

"I think it was completely unnecessary to raise the whole issue. I think that the visit of Mubarak was going to be worked out, but suddenly we were met by leakage to the press here, by statements which were not quite proper in addressing the president of Egypt."

Khalil finds Israel's decision to turn Jerusalem into an issue at present to be not only hard to understand — "it is puzzling to me, especially when you find that the embassies of other countries are not situated in Jerusalem" — but also "contrary to the spirit and text of Camp David."

So "why make an issue of it now?" he asks, "except, perhaps, to create a new crisis and exacerbate the differences between the two countries."

ON THE QUESTION of autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza, Khalil is even more concerned about what he clearly views as Israel's lack of good faith in the negotiations.

"When Mr. Begin's government presented its programme to the Knesset," he notes, "they said bluntly and without reservation that... Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank will be extended after five years."

This, he charges, was another blatant violation on Israel's part of the

Camp David accords.

"Let me argue this point: If, from the beginning, we had anticipated that sovereignty of Israel would be extended over the West Bank, that this would become an Israeli land, why should we go to the trouble of trying to negotiate? What are we going to negotiate — an internal Israeli problem? Are we entitled to come and interfere in your own internal affairs?"

"On the contrary, the mere fact that the West Bank was made the subject of negotiations, with its final status to be determined according to Camp David, is clear evidence that no one ever expected or accepted that Israel would extend its sovereignty over it."

Khalil suggests that the only way to break the present impasse in the autonomy negotiations is for both Israel and Egypt to concern themselves with the mechanism laid down in Camp David — that is, to solve the problems step by step. First have the people elect their representatives and create the self-governing authority, and then enter into negotiations with that authority on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza.

After all, he stresses, Egypt has no authority to decide anything for the Palestinians. "The Egyptian role is only to try to transfer the authority from the Israeli military government and its civilian administration to the self-governing authority to be formed after free elections among the Palestinians in order to implement full autonomy."

So why "jump to conclusions" concerning Egypt's aspirations for the future of the territories? "I think that such assumptions, hypotheses, and doubts about what will happen in the future are really something promulgated by extreme elements in Israel, the very hard, hawkish factions who do not like to see peace or autonomy in the West Bank, who

are always casting doubts about the future."

And such doubts, Khalil insists, are quite baseless — as baseless as earlier doubts concerning Egypt's continued commitment to peace after Israel's withdrawal from Sinai have proven to be.

TURNING TO the question of Israel's settlement policy in the West Bank, Khalil has a personal address for much of his bitterness: Defence Minister Ariel Sharon.

The continued building of settlements in the territories, Khalil charges, was not only "contrary to the spirit and letter of Camp David," but was also "contrary to the promise of Mr. Sharon."

"When we were negotiating, Mr. Sharon said that the final number of settlements would be according to the programme he was implementing at the time — I don't remember what it was exactly, 60, some limited number — and now he is coming out with another programme, for 70 settlements."

Khalil strongly believes that such changes of policy on Sharon's part — with subsequent government approval — are not conducive to finding a peaceful solution for the territories.

"Does this 'help solve' the problem, or does it merely aggravate it? Would it be possible to have full autonomy with a limited number of settlements in the territories, or would it be possible to have autonomy with a kind of mosaic of settlements that would disturb the whole of the autonomy plan?"

The present settlement policy, Khalil suggests, is a deterrent to any other party joining in the peace process — as are what he views as Israel's repressive practices in the territories.

"I can tell you very frankly," he says, "that the policies adopted now

in the West Bank, and the policies of depriving the people living there of all kinds of human rights, can never encourage anyone to join in."

KHALIL TOUCHES briefly on Egypt's position on the Iran-Iraq war; which Cairo has been watching with growing anxiety as the tide has been turning against Iraq and as Iran's Islamic Revolution has started to disturb the stability of the region.

He notes that the main aim of Egyptian policy on the Gulf is to achieve a speedy end to the war, and that Egypt has supported Jordan's call for a UN Security Council resolution to stop the fighting.

He refuses to speculate, however, on Egypt's position if Iran refuses to accept a peaceful settlement and continues to press for the overthrow of Saddam Hussein in Baghdad. "At the present time, of course, one cannot anticipate or prophesy — we will have to wait and see."

Nevertheless, he concedes that Egypt does view itself as bound by the 1950 Arab League Defence Pact, which requires it to come to the aid of a fellow signatory in the event of an external attack.

But he is at pains to point out that the Arab Defence Pact does not stipulate that Egypt would really be involved in a war. It stipulates that we would help. And in this respect, help can take various forms."

He agrees, for example, that it could be an Egyptian offer of its good offices in peace negotiations between the Arab state and its opponent.

What would Egypt's position be if another signatory to the pact came under attack, not by Iran but by Israel? "Well, it happened with Lebanon, and you know the answer of course." (This was not a reference to the latest fighting in

Lebanon, which began the following day).

KHALIL IS considering writing a book on the Jews, Zionism and Israel — a project that has been singled out for attack by some Israelis as a deliberate attempt to distort Jewish history by denying Jews nationhood and viewing Israel out of its Jewish context, as an Israeli state belonging to its inhabitants, Jews and Arabs. But Khalil is adamant that he has no such aim in mind.

"In writing this book," he says, "I am not trying to create a kind of antagonistic atmosphere between the two nations. On the contrary, the aim is how can we understand each other, how can we live together in the future. This is the main aim."

How did the idea of the book come about? "You know," he says, "when we really started the peace initiative and I was involved in the negotiations, I felt it was my duty to understand Israel, to understand the Zionist movement and to understand the existing political institutions in Israel."

To this end, he began to read up on the subject, taking notes, as is his habit, while he read — "I never claim to be an expert on the subject," he insists, "only a student of the subject."

He has saved these notes and when he has time he intends to organize them into a book which will be aimed primarily at the Egyptians, but which will also, he hopes,

be of interest to those in positions of influence in Egypt.

"Why did I contemplate the idea of presenting it to the public? Because due to the fact that we did not have any relations for so long, many interpretations evolved which were, not, to my mind, correct in representing the true facts of Israeli life, of Jewish history."

Khalil is still a little vague on the basic theme of the book, insisting only that he has no intention of judging, or interpreting, Jewish and Zionist beliefs, but only to present the two because they form the background of the existing State of Israel.

He stresses that he is not writing for the expert, but "for the layman, the Egyptian layman... I am trying to really make him understand what he does not know about Israel. This is my aim. As I have said, I am not a critic, I am not a judge about anything."

KHALIL ENDS the hour-long interview with the following message for the Israeli public:

"I would like to say that Israeli public opinion has to be sure that Egypt will never, under any circumstances, reverse her position from trying to achieve a comprehensive peace according to the Camp David Accords, and all suspicions and doubts cast upon Egypt in the past are baseless. I hope that the Israelis stop worrying about the Egyptian position."

The writer is The Jerusalem Post's Middle East Affairs Reporter



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'Super-Jew' harms Israel's image

By LEA LEVAVI/Jerusalem Post Reporter

as did the withdrawal in 1956, despite Israeli emphasis on the sacrifices made by giving up Sinai. "Israel extracted a few compliments on our sacrifices, but no earth-shaking international applause."

"The West Bank has become more important in the eyes of the world than Sinai, and they see Israel as a state ruling over more than a million Arabs who are becoming less and less content with the situation."

"The Israeli Government should think about the question of how to use its strength to gain public support instead of letting it hurt our image," she said.

DR. BARRY RUBIN of Georgetown University, who spoke about the image of Israel in the American press, began by saying that Israel may have image problems, but he did not think

Khomeini would ever be portrayed on American television by Ingrid Bergman.

Rubin said coverage of Iran in the U.S. press was poor, not because of bias but because of the way the American media works.

Reporters are not specialists in an area whose language and history have to be studied, and in which they are physically stationed for a long time.

Instead, the philosophy is that any good reporter can get any story anywhere on short notice. There is also a tendency toward "objectivity," which really means sticking to concrete, quantifiable facts rather than analysing and explaining underlying causes.

"When the Iranian crisis began, I got a telephone call from a TV commentator who asked me to explain 'all this Moslem fundamentalist stuff' in five minutes. After three minutes, I could tell he was getting

bored. Iran was barely covered by the American media until around 1976, when American military aid to Iran began to arouse interest."

"By 1978, the American media was writing about corruption in Iran, economic difficulties and other problems, but later, when the revolution was well under way, the same sources 'forgot' their previous articles and gave superficial explanations about Iranian clergymen being upset over the movies being shown in the country," said Rubin.

"During the hostage crisis, the Iranians tried to win over American public opinion, believing that their cause was so right that if the people in the U.S. only knew the facts, they would surely support the Iranian Revolution."

Of course, the Iranians failed miserably. They blamed this on the bias of the American media, but what kind of support could they expect when they were holding 53 Americans hostages and making vicious statements against the U.S.?"

What concerned Rubin most about the U.S. media's coverage of Iran was that nothing had been learned from past mistakes. "Reporters who don't know Spanish are still being sent to Central America. I would have hoped something would change," he said.

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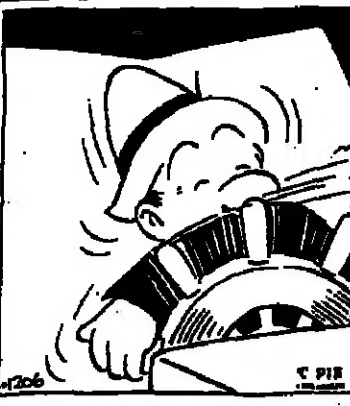
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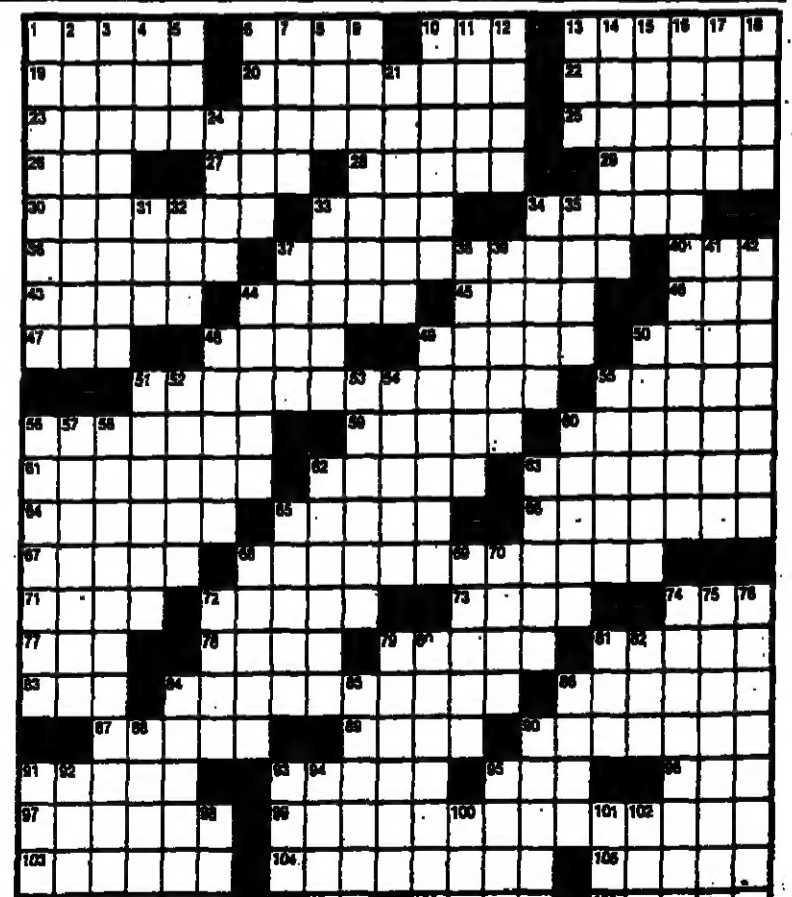
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THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE CROSSWORD PUZZLE SOLUTIONS TO TODAY'S PUZZLE NEXT FRIDAY

Geogranagrams

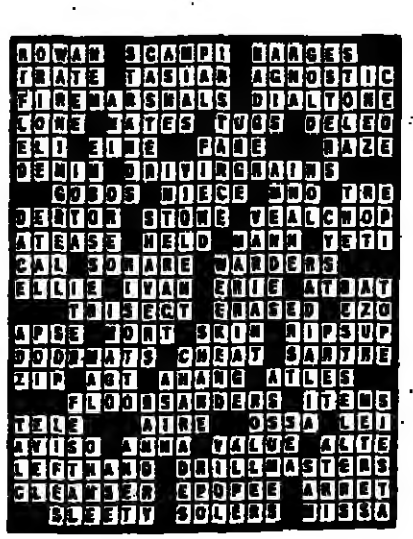
By Richard Silvestri/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Maleska

- ACROSS**
- Indian state
 - Mime
 - 16" — steals my purse
 - Iago
 - Emulated
 - Gretzky
 - Whence testimony is given
 - Carnival attraction
 - Guarantee against loss
 - Michigan title
 - High-kicking dance
 - Tip
 - Acapulco gold
 - What money does
 - Waistcoats
 - The facts guide his acts
 - "In Reverse" painter
 - Before febrero
 - Like sea water
 - Oregon men
 - Agcy. aiding opera, etc.
 - Hermia's father
 - Units of loudness
 - Wagon follower
 - NCO
 - Bench, for one
 - Metric weight
 - Croc's cousin
 - Wind in rings
 - Maine shoe
 - March man
 - Crosser's foe
 - Transoceanic ship
 - Sparing
 - Flow forth
 - "Nothing could be —"
 - Alarm
 - Fable adjuncts
 - Kafka hero
 - Bond
 - S. Johnson drama
 - Wyoming predicament
 - Dravidian language
 - Carries on
 - Sulk
 - Mateo's milieu



- DOWN**
- Villifying villain
 - Prehistoric time
 - Wearing huaraches
 - Formicary denizen
 - 16th-century opener
 - Kind of tie
 - Early invader of Britain
 - Author LeShan
 - Agama or anole
 - Former
 - Pan's foe
 - Confesses
 - Off-bracketed word
 - Variety
 - Lou Grant portrayer
 - Arizona nobility
 - Part of Q.E.D.
 - Iniquitous places
 - Intense looks
 - Chevet
 - Blackbirds of N.Y.
 - Electees
 - Demesne house
 - Singer John
 - do well
 - "Star Wars" captain
 - Emaciated
 - Rose essence
 - Long letter
 - Put fears to rest
 - Hasso
 - Winter wear
 - "But don't — the water"
 - Rough
 - Split ingredient
 - Allan —
 - Light aircraft
 - Laundry cycle
 - Bay duck
 - Arabic or Aramaic
 - Tenderly, in music
 - Texas hardship
 - Layer: Prefix
 - Secure
 - Walk proudly
 - Domingo
 - Lug
 - Slender stalk
 - Direct a helmsman
 - Casanova
 - Afflicted with paludism
 - Proof
 - Took a break
 - Amzen
 - More vulgar
 - Kind of bond
 - Be human
 - Busy places in June
 - Joker
 - pieces
 - Musical passage
 - Fall beverage
 - Fastener
 - Overture follower
 - Elec. units
 - Not one, in Dogpatch
 - Amphora feature
 - Soap ingredient
 - A follower
 - Cartogram
 - Mil. address

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THE JERUSALEM POST

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All classified advertisements for Friday submitted to Hahach Hehadash head office by 5 p.m. Thursday preceding publication appear in this section.

Lincoln 1971, one owner, test, tape, 151,000, Tel. 536833.
For consultation only! Only one in Israel Peugeot 305-S, 1981, electric windows, upholstery, extras. 538881, 240771, at work.
Suzuta van, 1971, excellent condition, year test, 02-631064.
Subaru D.L. 1400 station, 1973, excellent condition, 1385,000, Tel. 826270, from Friday, 14.00.
Mini Minor 1000, station, 1972, must sell 02-240042, 02-668338.
Subaru D.L. 1400, station, 1973, good condition, 1595,000, Tel. 520167.
Corolla station automatic, 1973, Tel. 02-271601, Tel. 536833.
Subaru 1300, 1982, 2000km, stereo system, alarm, new, 02-715351.
Suzuta station 1967, new clutch, 1525,000, 819170.
Audi 100, 1973, automatic, excellent condition, 67158, Pinar.
Subaru 160 station, 1979, excellent, 51528.
Subaru 1600 station, 1975, 26,000 km, test, tape, stereo, alarm, 712344, work, 716599 Aharon.
Subaru 1600 station, 1975, 26,000 km, test, tape, stereo, alarm, 712344, work, 716599 Aharon.

Public relations office requires young, pleasant clerk, typing experience, 02-454282.
Reliable import company, Tel Aviv, requires experienced secretary, perfect knowledge of Hebrew-English (additional languages advantage), typing in above languages, telephone experience preferred, convenient work hours, 02-454282.
Key punch operator clerk required, part time, English knowledge, for Herzliya factory, 02-55111, 02-55612, Momi, from Sunday.
Bookkeeping clerk required in Tel Aviv, Tel. 615228.
Hostess for 6 months old baby, experience, 02-454282.
Exclusive gift shop requires experienced saleswoman with perfect English for alternating hour shifts, 02-1200, 1200-1300, at 9, Gurion Airport, please call 02-242882.
Clark, German and Hebrew speaking, Hebrew typing necessary, preferably also German work hours, 02-55111, 02-55612, Momi, from Sunday.
Agromont, M.A., experience in growing house plants, 02-50833.
Office clerk required with good knowledge of mathematics for statistics, apply Duplo, 4 Herzl, Tel Aviv, 664416, Mr. Vardi.
Ramat Hasharon, domestic, once weekly, 6 hours, English-German speaking, 02-479333.
Ramat Hasharon, for teacher, 6 months old baby, 02-479333.
Full time clerk, including Hebrew typing, 02-50833.
151,600 monthly, youngsters, 12th grade, 02-479333.
Selling 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 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THE BEAUFORT SAGA

ELLEN F. HIRSCH reviews the history of the former PLO stronghold

THE END of another chapter in the 800-year saga of Beaufort Castle was written on June 9, 1982 when the Israel Defence Forces handed over the fortress to Major Sa'ad Haddad, the leader of the forces for a "Free Lebanon."

In a brief ceremony held at the base of the castle, a red and white flag emblazoned with a cedar of Lebanon was hoisted above the ancient ramparts, as once again Beaufort stood at a turning point in the long, turbulent history of the Middle East.

Crowning a rocky spur, 700 metres above two gorges created by a sharp western bend in the Litani River, and overlooking all of southern Lebanon and much of northern Israel, Beaufort Castle has witnessed the fate of a succession of warring generations — the perpetrators and the victims of religious and political passions for over 800 years.

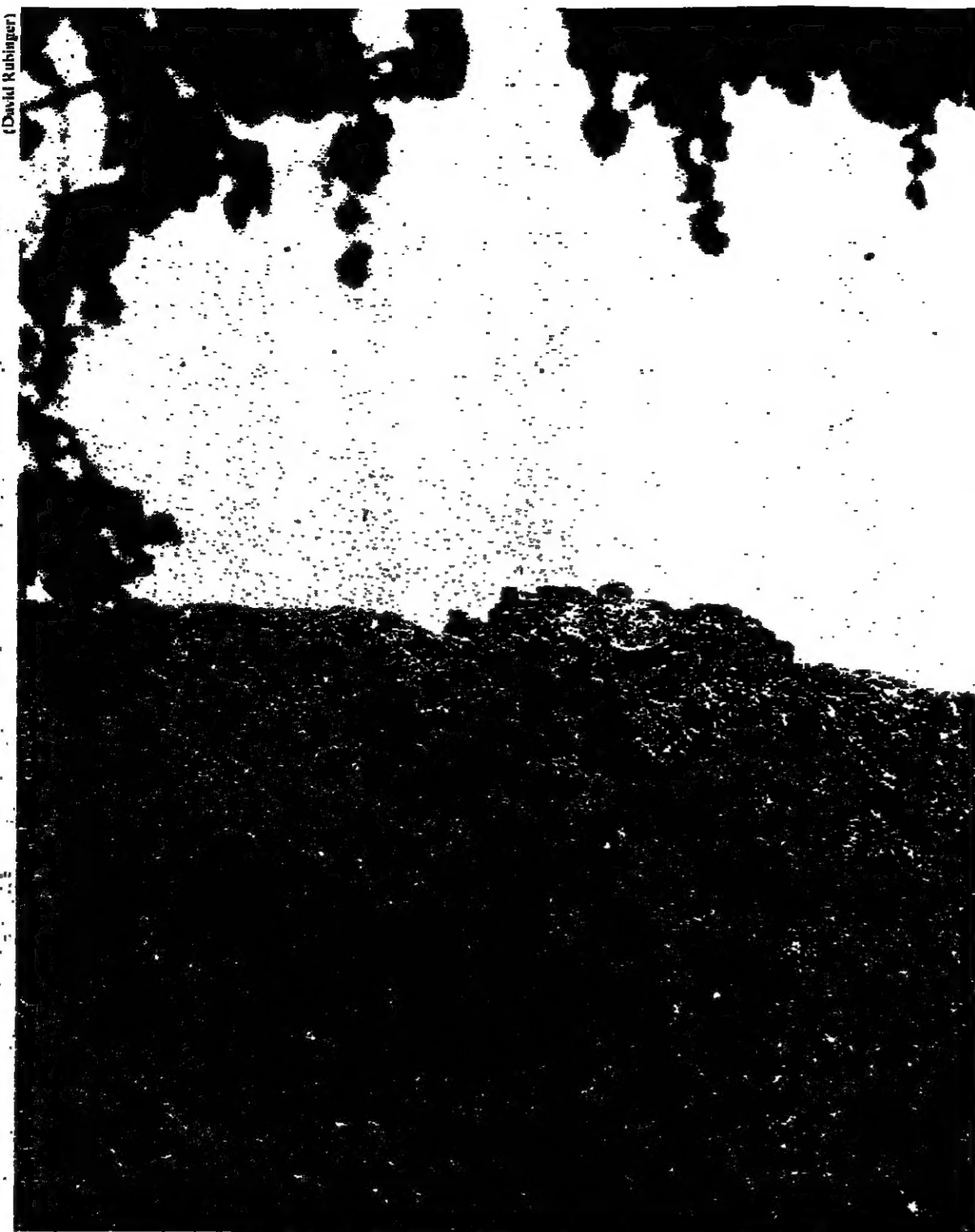
The fortress is thought to have been built by Fulk of Anjou in 1140, during the Crusades, when the Franks sought to overwhelm their numerically superior Moslem opponents by concentrating their forces in strategically placed strongholds, fortified with cunning defensive and offensive devices and designed to withstand prolonged sieges.

Beaufort was the northernmost of seven castles on the frontier line stretching from the Valley of Ayun (in south-central Lebanon) 100 kilometres southward to the Plain of Beit She'an (today in north-eastern Israel). By means of beacon-signals and carrier pigeons, the garrisons stationed in Beaufort, Hunin, Met-sad Ateret, Safad, Habis Jaldak, Belvoir and Beit She'an and in two fortified towns — Banias and Tiberias — were able to communicate with each other and to warn of danger.

Located on the east-west highway linking Damascus and Sidon, Beaufort Castle stood ready to defend the safe passage of traders and travellers, and to intercept Moslem armies marching to do battle against the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem.

FOR YEARS this crumbling mountain-top fortress served as a forward military base of the Palestine Liberation Organization, one of its strongholds in the present-day version of the struggle for Lebanon between Christians and Moslems.

From their vantage point within the massive stone walls of this once-majestic edifice, scores of PLO members and their leftist-Moslem allies directed artillery fire from batteries secreted in the nearby Ar-noun Heights at the villages of the Christian-held enclave along the border, and Israeli settlements in



The mountain-top fortress and, at right, a terrorist gunman, whose photo was taken by the terrorists themselves.



disapproval by both the Moslems and the Christian worlds. The Christians were bitterly disappointed that Jerusalem had not been regained by the might of their swords, and were also not convinced that the narrow strip of land ceded to them, extending to the Mediterranean shore would provide the strategic depth necessary to hold the Holy City. The Moslems were not satisfied with mere access to their holy places, because to them the treaty represented a betrayal of one of the basic tenets of Islam — absolute Moslem sovereignty over lands inhabited by Moslems.

Nevertheless, the treaty held for 10 years, though the period was marked by local power struggles and internecine quarrels. In anticipation of the pact's termination, Tibald of Champagne set out from Europe on a crusade to regain the lost Christian lands. After more than a thousand of his men were slaughtered in an ill-fated attempt to recapture the town of Gaza, Tibald moved his forces north to Tripoli.

Meanwhile, Ayub, the deposed ruler of Damascus, after much intrigue and fighting, had himself named to the throne of Egypt. In 1240 war broke out between Ayub and his uncle, Ismail, then firmly ensconced as ruler of Damascus. Early in the summer of that year, Ismail approached Tibald, who was encamped with his army in Galilee and proposed a defensive alliance with the Franks. In return for defending the Egyptian frontier from the coast, Ismail offered Tibald the fortresses of Beaufort and Safad, plus the hilly country that lay between.

As a result of this agreement, the Templars, one of several military religious orders, negotiated for the return of Safad. However, Ismail was forced to lay siege to Beaufort before it agreed to surrender. In trusteeship to Balian of Sidon, son of Reynald, the castle's last Christian lord.

TWENTY YEARS later, the Mongol conquest, which had already overrun Baghdad, Aleppo and Damascus, was sweeping westward. The Mongols tolerated the Frankish kingdom within their sovereignty as long as its leaders showed sufficient deference, and their rule in fact created conditions favourable to a resurgence of Christianity.

Most of the Franks avoided provoking their overlords, but Julian (son of Balian) the handsome, hot-headed Lord of Beaufort and Sidon, took advantage of the wars between the Mongols and the Moslems to launch raids from his fortress, aiming to take control of the fertile Bek's region to the north. Not wanting the new Mongol order upset by raiding, Kubuqa, the Mongol general, dispatched a small force commanded by his nephew to punish the Franks. Julian, having got wind of the imminent attack, ambushed the party, killing the nephew. Enraged, Kubuqa then sent a larger army which ravaged Sidon. Subsequently, Sidon was lost and Beaufort was turned over to the Templars.

Beaufort Castle figures on last time in the history of the Crusader period before it was gradually abandoned to the ravages of time and weather. Between 1265-68, Baibars — a Mameluk general who was campaigning, methodically and without scruples, to establish himself as a ruler of the Moslem world — had forced the finest Frankish fortresses to surrender, one after the other.

Early in 1268, Baibars set out from his headquarters in Egypt and conquered the last Christian possessions south of Acre — the castle of Atlit and the port of Jaffa. His next objective was Beaufort, then in the hands of the Templars who had foreclosed on Julian. After 10 days of heavy bombardment, the fortress surrendered on April 15, 1268. Baibars transported all the women and children to Tyre, but retained the men as slaves. Subsequently, he repaired the castle and stationed a strong garrison within.

Upper Galilee. As guardians of the river crossing, the modern occupants of Beaufort regularly fired on their enemies as they passed near

the Hardala bridge or drove along the Nabatiya-Sidon road.

Journalists who visited Beaufort reported in the Lebanese newspaper *Al-Hawadeth* that "the terrorists live in the fortress like in any other of their bases. They are in action day and night, observing and holding the fort. The terrorists keep arms and artillery in the fortress... on the roof are many Dacha machine guns and many of the terrorists carry binoculars."

The *Journal de Geneve* reported in 1979 that a team of Cuban military instructors had been sent to Beaufort together with a PLO unit. The Cubans were charged with instructing the PLO in the use of sabotage equipment and Soviet-made arms.

THE STORY of Beaufort is not so much a romance of knightly chivalry as it is an encapsulation of the history of its time — and perhaps of our time as well. After the castle was built, in the typical Crusader style designed to maximize the natural strength of its site, it was entrusted to the lords of Sidon.

In 1187, at the time of the decisive victory over the Crusaders at Hattin (6 kilometres north of Tiberias) by Saladin, the great Moslem leader, the Lord of Beaufort, Reynald of Sidon, had nearly completed an extension of the defence works of the castle by constructing a complex entrance and ramp.

These served to strengthen the

original keep, 23 metres square, surrounded by walls which formed an irregular polygonal enclosure, its shape dictated by the contours of the rocky crest.

According to the Arab chronicler, Beha ed-Din, Reynald was then ready to seek out Saladin in order to negotiate the peaceful surrender of Beaufort, an expected gesture in light of the sultan's recent victory.

Fluent in spoken and written Arabic and attuned to the nuances of Arab culture and diplomacy, Reynald undertook a mission of deception to try to keep Beaufort in Christian hands.

First, he paid a courtesy call on Saladin, who invited him to join him for a meal. After much pleasant conversation, in which the two exchanged views about religion — Reynald declaring that the Christian faith was the better, while Saladin maintained that it was worthless — the Frankish lord offered to hand over Beaufort to the sultan.

Reynald further won his host's trust by stating that he would be content to retire to Damascus, to a house with enough land to allow him to live comfortably there with his family.

However, Reynald asked Saladin for a delay of three months to give him time to bring his parents and children from Tyre, after which he would transfer Beaufort to the sultan. Greatly impressed by Reynald's professed sincerity and genial friendship, Saladin readily agreed to

these terms.

DURING the interval, Saladin stationed some soldiers before Beaufort, while he himself hastened off with most of his troops to intercept Christian forces from Tyre who were marching on his army in Sidon.

Reynald, meanwhile, took advantage of Saladin's absence to stock his fortress with provisions in preparation for its defence. Though some of the sultan's advisers suspected trickery, Saladin refused to believe that Reynald was capable of deceiving him, and thus honoured their three-month truce to the final day. Thereupon, he sent a messenger to Reynald requesting immediate possession of the castle.

In reply, Reynald begged for another extension, as his children had not yet arrived from Tyre. Saladin, finally surmising the truth, had him arrested, and demanded fulfilment of their agreement forthwith.

Playing this dangerous game to the bitter end, Reynald summoned the priest he intended sending to Beaufort to order its surrender. Following their rendezvous, the priest entered the fortress and signalled to the soldiers within to defend themselves with all their might. Meanwhile, Reynald, standing before the castle walls in the custody of Saladin's guards, shouted commands in Arabic to relinquish the fortress — and exhortations to his men in French not to capitulate. His captors then tied him, still

bellowing, to a tree, and later sent him as a prisoner to Banias. The garrison held out against the Sultan's siege force for almost a year until, starved out, it surrendered in 1190. Subsequently, Reynald was released, but Beaufort had passed into Moslem control.

Saladin's successor, Al-Adil Abu-Bakr, a builder of great talent and vision, took advantage of the following period of relative peace to restore and expand many of the fortresses which had come into his possession. Today, the special materials used by his masons can still be seen in the tower rising from the south-west corner of Beaufort.

THE CASTLE of Beaufort appears again in the history of the period during the Crusade of Tibald of Champagne, 1239-40.

Ten years earlier, on February 18, 1229, a treaty was signed between Frederick II and Sultan al-Kamil, two men of peace and honour, which demarcated the boundaries of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. It now included Nazareth, western Galilee with the castles of Monfort and Toron, the area around Sidon, and the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, with a narrow corridor running through Lydda to Jaffa on the coast. It also stipulated that the Moslem holy places in Jerusalem — the Dome of the Rock and the El Aksa Mosque — would remain in Moslem hands.

This treaty, concluded after lengthy negotiations and without bloodshed, was met with horrified

Festive and Impressive Celebration at "Torah Schools for Israel" (Chinuch Atzmai) School in Dimona

On the Occasion of the Dedication of the Kindergarten Donated by Mr. and Mrs. Benl Kaplan of Johannesburg



Presidium (r. to l.): Mr. Morris Seef, Johannesburg; Rabbi Israel Orlansky, Supt. Chinuch Atzmai Schools; Rabbi Shraga Grossbard, Gen. Director, Chinuch Atzmai; Mr. Benl Kaplan, Johannesburg; Rabbi Shmuel Weinberg, Assot. Director, Chinuch Atzmai; Rabbi Abraham J. Lenzson, Asst. Director, Chinuch Atzmai; Samson Felhimer, School Principal. A festive, highly impressive gathering was held recently at the Shilo Chinuch Atzmai school in Dimona in the far south. The event, in which the heads of Chinuch Atzmai participated, was held in honour of the distinguished philanthropist, Mr. Benl Kaplan and his wife, Nina, of Johannesburg, whose contribution made the establishment of the local Chinuch Atzmai kindergarten possible. The kindergarten is located in the spacious quarters of the Shilo School.

Some 140 pupils with their teachers of the Chinuch Atzmai school, took part in the gathering, held in the open, spacious auditorium. They had all gathered there to express their gratitude and appreciation to the Kaplan family of Johannesburg, together with their brothers-in-law, philanthropist Morris Seef and his wife, as well as Mrs. Sybil Kaplan, all from South Africa. The guests, after being welcomed by the school principal and faculty, were shown around the kindergarten, especially decorated for the occasion. They were then taken on a comprehensive tour of the entire school, displaying great interest in the classroom studies. The guests were then honoured with the unveiling of the dedicatory plaque bearing Mr. Kaplan's name.

Upon conclusion of the tour, all sat down to the festive banquet. Seated at the head table were Rabbi Shraga Grossbard, General Director of Torah Schools for Israel (Chinuch Atzmai); Associate Director, Rabbi Shmuel Weinberg, also General Director of the Chinuch Atzmai kindergarten network; Rabbi Abraham Joseph Lenzson, Assistant Director, Inspector, Rabbi Israel Orlansky; Rabbi Israel Orlansky; Executive Director Reb Mordechai Freund; organizer of the gathering; Rabbi Samson Felhimer, school principal, and, of course, the two philanthropists, Mr. Benl Kaplan and brother-in-law, Mr. Morris Seef and their families.

Rabbi Israel Orlansky, who acted as chairman, introduced the guests with whom he had become acquainted on previous visits to South Africa on behalf of Chinuch Atzmai. The chairman presented a brief review of the important accomplishments of the guests, and their readiness to assist in the development and expansion of the Dimona kindergarten and school — an educational beacon to the entire Negev.

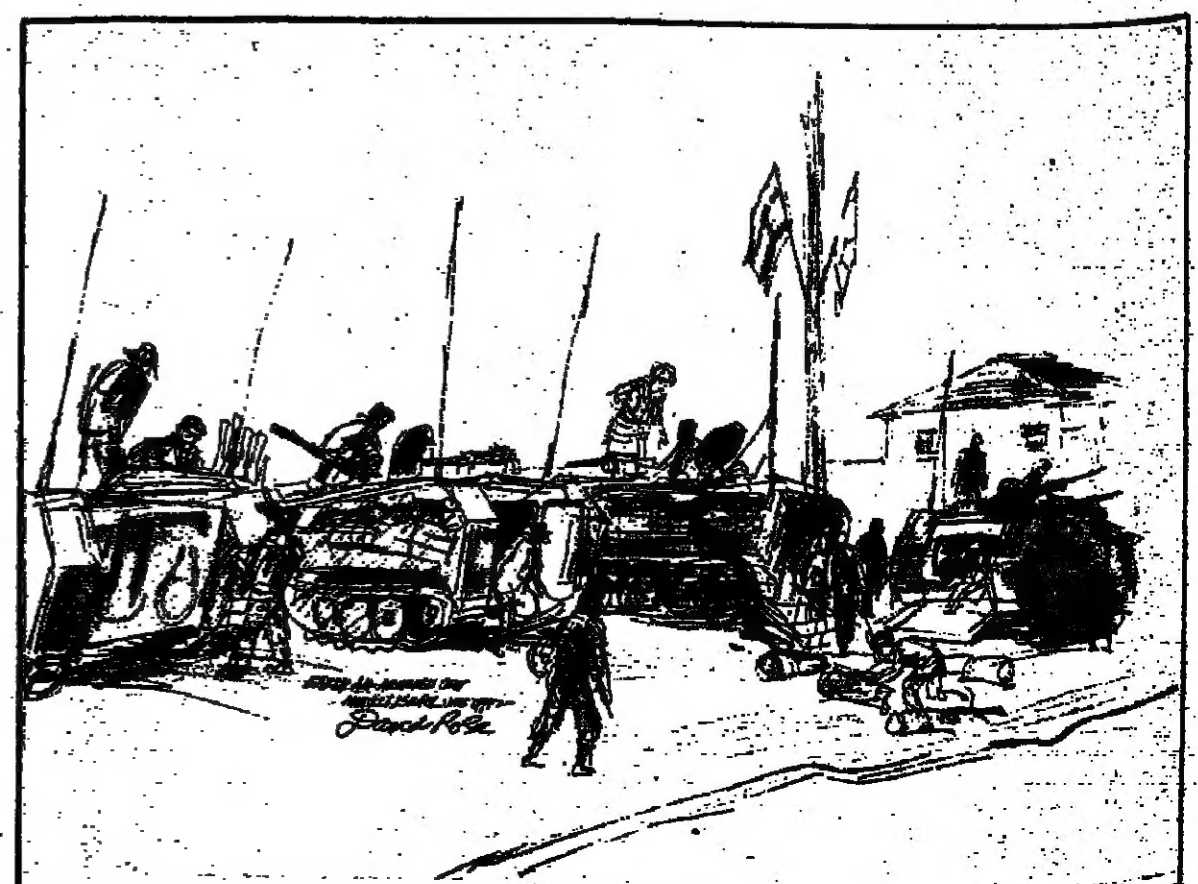
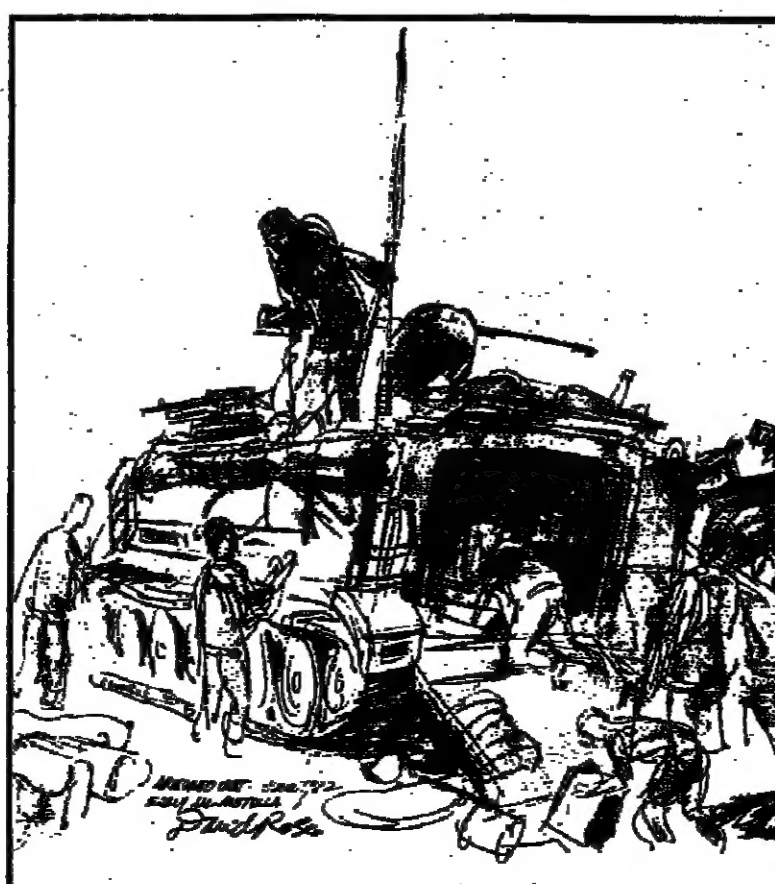
Warm greetings were extended to the philanthropist and his family by Rabbi Shraga Grossbard, who lavished unstinting praise on the family for its generosity on behalf of Torah and Torah education, a family that had earned a reputation on being amongst the foremost builders of Torah bastions in our generation. Rabbi Grossbard pointed out that the Dimona school, in the far south, is but one point on the extensive map of the hundreds of Chinuch Atzmai schools and kindergartens spread across the country. Rabbi Grossbard impressed upon the guests the greatness and inestimable value of Chinuch Atzmai education, the best guarantee that Torah teachings would remain imbedded in Jewish hearts. During the course of the gathering, the schoolchildren rose to their feet and, together, with all those present, passionately recited chapters from the Psalms for the wellbeing of Israel's soldiers fighting in the north for the defence of the border villages there, and for the recovery of those wounded in the fighting.

The guest of honour, Mr. Kaplan, indicated in his reply that we are living in a difficult period, surrounded by enemies aiming at our destruction. At such a time, he said, as we look around us at the young generation, raised on the ideals of normative Judaism, we become reassured that the people of Israel is vitally alive. To the ensuing applause, Mr. Kaplan announced that, due to the deep impression left on him by the atmosphere of kindergarten and school, he would see to it that the Kaplan Family Foundation in Johannesburg, under his management, and the Foundation named after the late Abraham Seef (directed by brother-in-law and noted philanthropist, Sidney Seef of Johannesburg) — a foundation established for the promotion of moral and ethical ideals amongst schoolchildren — that both these institutions would offer their generous assistance toward the school's expansion.

The gathering was concluded with the presentation of some of the artwork of the school's girl pupils as a souvenir to Mrs. Nina Kaplan, and a picture album to the contributor's family.

Torah Schools for Israel — Chinuch Atzmai: Head office — 17 Rehov Adoniyahu Haohen, P.O.B. 8068, Jerusalem, U.S.A. — 167 Madison Ave., New York City, N.Y. 10016, U.K. — Newman House, Russell Parade, London N.W. 11, Europe — Pfanzschulstrasse 56, Zurich 8004.

Quick study



David Rose, an American artist-reporter for Cable News Network, came to Israel as a guest of the Foreign Ministry, a trip planned long before the startling events of this week. With his sketch pad, he followed the action and produced these quick studies of the Israel Defence Forces.

(Continued from Page One)

agreement only with Syria, having "lost faith in the longevity of such agreements with the PLO." Observers also believe that Israel does not want to sign such an agreement with the PLO because it would represent a form of recognition of the organization, which the campaign in Lebanon was designed to crush.

"Anyway, Israel's major fighting at the moment is against the Syrian forces. A cease-fire between the Israeli and Syrian armies in the eastern and central sectors without doubt will lead to a cessation of Israeli-PLO hostilities on the coastal road to Beirut in the west," one well-informed source said last night.

Government sources denied yesterday that a second, stronger letter from Reagan reached Begin last night, as Israel Radio had reported.

Without going into detail, government sources said that Israel hopes the "radically transformed" situation in Lebanon will now lead Israel to the achievement of a final, comprehensive settlement of the Lebanese crisis, which has simmered since the 1975-76 civil war — a settlement that will give Lebanon "a greater degree of sovereignty, and independence of foreign armies."

An Israeli cabinet source last night said that the cabinet has over the past year, sporadically been discussing possible ideas on which to base a "new order" in Lebanon. These "ideas" were connected to the eventual withdrawal by Syria of the SAMs from the Bek'a Valley and to the reduction of the PLO state-within-a-state in Lebanon.

"But the cabinet never held a comprehensive systematic discussion on this subject. Now that the situation has been radically transformed, on the ground, the time for such a discussion is approaching. Clearly, the changed situation of Syria in Lebanon makes their traditional role since 1976, of a supervisory nanny outdated," the source said.

Israeli sources last night said that the "whole negotiating situation regarding a cease-fire is enveloped at the moment by a thick fog."

They were referring to lack of hard facts about Syria's attitude to the proposed Israeli cease-fire conditions and to doubts about American diplomatic moves and plans.

Perhaps the biggest pill for Syria to swallow is Israel's ban on Syrian ground-to-air missiles being stationed on Lebanese territory.

Ever since the Syrians moved missiles into Lebanon last spring, when the Israeli Air Force downed two Syrian helicopters, Israel tried in vain to get these missiles out again by diplomatic means. (On Wednesday, Israel destroyed 17 of the SAM batteries and damaged two more,

but the following night Syria introduced fresh batteries into the area.)

But the government does not intend to make an issue over the presence within Lebanon of Syrian forces as such.

In the course of working out the cease-fire, the government will again lay down the basic principle that no PLO units may be present in a 40-kilometre strip north of the Israeli border. This stipulation offers no problem, in view of yesterday's developments on the battlefield.

Following the destruction of the Syrian missile batteries, the Israeli invading force was free to tackle the Syrian units in the eastern sector around Lake Karoun. This was because the Israeli tanks had air cover and support which was no longer inhibited by the ground-to-air missiles.

Starting yesterday morning, the Syrian units in the eastern sector gradually gave ground under pressure of Israeli air, armour and artillery bombardments. Syrian efforts to attack the Israeli units from the air resulted in more Syrian losses.

By midnight last night the Syrian units were expected to be well on their way out of the 40-kilometre strip. As a result, the PLO units that took shelter among the Syrian units were also on their way north.

The government did not consider making an issue of the presence of Syrian units within Beirut, nor had it reached any decision about attacking the city, informed sources said in Jerusalem yesterday.

However, it approved the IDF's maintaining continued pressure along the main Beirut-Damascus highway in order to unnerve the Syrian command and make it fear that its units would be cut off.

Although the government does not envisage the IDF's capturing and occupying Beirut, commando-type raids in strength may be made against special PLO targets within the city limits.

The government, aware of American pressure for a rapid cease-fire, felt last night it nevertheless had maneuvering time for 24-36 hours.

It envisages weeks or perhaps months elapsing before a political arrangement is created which would enable a withdrawal to the international border. Before then, the IDF will gradually shift south from its present lines to the 40-kilometre line, as a gesture of goodwill.

As to the second stage of the negotiations, regarding the future final settlement for Lebanon after a cease-fire is stabilized, Israeli sources have indicated that Israel would like a "western force" or a second "MFO" installed in the whole area vacated by Israel. An expanded UNIFIL, in Israeli eyes, runs a poor third as a possible peacekeeping buffer.

Leaflet bombs warn Beirutis about fighting

BEIRUT. — Palestinian terrorists stood with ice-cream vendors on the waterfront yesterday watching an Israeli gunboat pound positions around a Palestinian camp further round the bay.

With the rest of Beirut's one million people, they were anticipating street fighting on a scale unknown since the 1976 civil war if Israel makes a threatened attack.

Shortly after 10 a.m., when an Israeli jet dropped what sounded like a missile, people in the streets dashed madly for cover as the projectile exploded, but only paper leaflets fluttered down.

Printed in Arabic, the yellow handbills announced the Israelis would storm Beirut. The bombing runs began about noon and lasted an hour.

In the distance, clouds of smoke billowed up from the Beirut airport area, the target of Israeli forces advancing northwards on the city.

Big guns dug into the Beirut promontory fired shells at the gunboat, sending up pillars of water around it.

PLO fighters and terrorists belonging to leftist factions had slept along the waterfront, taking turns to watch for possible landing attempts by sea-borne Israeli troops.

The Nasserite Murabitoun, the most powerful of western Beirut's leftist militias and veterans of the civil war, cruised along the corniche in small trucks fitted with recoilless bazookas, heavy machineguns and anti-aircraft batteries.

The "Arab Knights," a Syrian-backed group, reinforced their encampment at the foot of Beirut's defunct lighthouse.

Fighters of the mainly Druse Progressive Socialists played cards on the corniche verge with their truck-mounted machinegun parked under a shady tree nearby. Their leader, Walid Jumblatt, fled his family seat in the Shouf mountains for Beirut two days ago. His order to his fighters was: "Fight the invaders, whatever the cost."

Around the corner at the U.S. Embassy, the shutters were down and the coinings and goings were minimal. The State Department evacuated half the staff on Tuesday.

At the British Embassy a queue formed outside the visa section as travellers sought advice on the best way to escape. The British and other embassies are telling their citizens to take refuge in mainly Christian East Beirut, away from the PLO presence.

People grabbed what they could carry and piled into cars to try to make their way through the city and across the so-called "green line" to

eastern Beirut. The traffic jams were massive at the "green line" checkpoints, where the Christian militiamen backed up vehicles for three hours, thoroughly checking each one to guarantee that no Palestinians were trying to flee into their zone.

Almost all stores and shops were shuttered in the western half of the city. There was widespread fear that PLO fighters retreating from the Israeli bombing would turn the residential neighbourhoods into a last-stand battleground.

The PLO promised a house-to-house, room-to-room defence. Even as the mid-day air raids were going on, hundreds of gunmen at battle-weary terrorists guarded the streets with Soviet-designed Kalashnikov sub-machineguns.

The most agonizing question on people's minds was where and how heavily the Israelis would hit.

The biggest fear was a massive air strike, like the ones the Israelis launched against the southern Lebanese cities of Tyre and Sidon to soften them up before sending in tanks and infantry.

Long queues formed outside bakeries, though the Lebanese government gave assurances that plentiful supplies were on their way. Women and children struggled to carry buckets of water from taps after intermittent power cuts left rooftop water tanks empty.

Refugees flocking in from the occupied south took shelter in public gardens, in the lobbies of blocks of flats and on the streets. Others fled the Palestinian areas on the southern edge of the city, where Israeli air raids have taken the heaviest toll. (Reuters, AP)

Bank of Israel rates of exchange

| June 10, 1982 | IS |
|-------------------------|---------|
| U.S. dollar | 22.4481 |
| British sterling | 39.8038 |
| German mark | 3.5618 |
| French franc | 8.4022 |
| Dutch guilder | 10.9144 |
| Swiss franc | 3.7627 |
| Swedish krona | 3.6593 |
| Norwegian krone | 2.7272 |
| Danish krone | 4.8484 |
| Canadian dollar | 17.8238 |
| Australian dollar | 23.3225 |
| South African rand | 20.3952 |
| Belgian franc (10) | 4.9153 |
| Austrian schilling (10) | — |
| Italian lire (100) | 1.6828 |
| Japanese yen (100) | 8.9999 |
| Jordanian dinar | 65.32 |
| Lebanese lira | — |

Money Matters

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN

TEL AVIV. — With Israeli forces chalking up successes in Lebanon, the share market maintained a fairly even keel, though turnover — at just IS281m. — was very low. In view of the circumstances, the market did well to put in a mixed performance, finishing the session on the upside according to the popular averages.

Alcol, which is about to make its debut on the Tel Aviv Stock Ex-

Market mixed in wartime uncertainty

change, announced that in view of the vast oversubscription of its issue it had decided to allocate 2.79 per cent of the amount on offer.

The index-linked bond market was marked by gains of about one half of one per cent on the average. Trading dropped to IS123m.

On balance, commercial bank shares gained moderately, which

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

was in keeping with recent performance.

The insurance sector turned clearly down, with Hasehsh (R) showing a 7.1 per cent loss.

Land development and real estate securities were on the upside. Arizadon 0.5 showed a splendid 10 per cent gain while Raseco pref was ahead by 7.2%.

Industrials crept ahead as, with few exceptions, moderate gains were the order of the day. Teva (b) was ahead by eight per cent while Zion Cable 1.0 was up by a full 10%.

(b) showed a 15 per cent loss. Frutaron appears to have bottomed out at 671.

Investment company shares were in demand and the group as a whole advanced. Incoba and Jordan put in identical gains of 9.4 per cent and Pama was a 10 per cent winner. Frayon did not trade as the company announced a 200 per cent share bonus.

Oils were lower with Paz Exploration down by 9.4 per cent.

| Company | Price | Volume | Change | Change % |
|--------------------------------|-------|--------|--------|----------|
| Commercial Banks & Bankholding | | | | |
| IDB pref | 25450 | 1.2 | +100 | +4 |
| IDB r | 2175 | 967.0 | +4 | +2 |
| IDB B r | 2174 | 5 | +4 | +2 |
| IDB A r | 8800 | 1.5 | n.c. | n.c. |
| IDB op 6 | 5415 | 5.5 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 7 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 8 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 9 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 10 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 11 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 12 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 13 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 14 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 15 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 16 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 17 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 18 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 19 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 20 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 21 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 22 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 23 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 24 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 25 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 26 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
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| IDB op 94 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 95 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 96 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 97 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 98 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 99 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |
| IDB op 100 | 5410 | 4.7 | +10 | +2 |

| Company | Price | Volume | Change | Change % |
|--------------------------------|-------|--------|--------|----------|
| Commercial Banks & Bankholding | | | | |
| Alcol 0.1 r | 537 | 22.4 | +8 | +1.5 |
| Alcol 0.5 r | 303 | 42.5 | +15 | +5.2 |
| Alcol 1.0 r | 800 | 2.0 | -2 | -0.4 |
| Alcol 2.0 r | 341 | 49.2 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Alcol 3.0 r | 144.0 | 209.7 | +3.9 | +2.3 |
| Alcol 4.0 r | 1110 | 78.5 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Alcol 5.0 r | 25900 | 1.1 | +220 | +1.0 |
| Alcol 6.0 r | 1403 | 22.5 | +8 | +1.1 |
| Alcol 7.0 r | 474 | 52.1 | +3 | +1.4 |
| Alcol 8.0 r | 1140 | 5.1 | +20 | +1.8 |
| Alcol 9.0 r | 418 | 68.9 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Alcol 10.0 r | 2380 | 130.0 | -100 | -4.1 |
| Alcol 11.0 r | 187 | 6.1 | -1.9 | -1.1 |
| Alcol 12.0 r | 1580 | 108.8 | -120 | -7.1 |
| Alcol 13.0 r | 1719 | 5 | -80 | -3.4 |
| Alcol 14.0 r | 2990 | 4.7 | -80 | -2.6 |
| Alcol 15.0 r | 2380 | 53.1 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Alcol 16.0 r | 1945 | 15.3 | -29 | -1.5 |
| Alcol 17.0 r | 1645 | 11.4 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Alcol 18.0 r | 701 | 146.2 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Alcol 19.0 r | 501 | 24.5 | +25 | +5.5 |
| Alcol 20.0 r | 633 | 22.0 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Alcol 21.0 r | 7948 | 8 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Alcol 22.0 r | 1100 | 70.4 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Alcol 23.0 r | 1870 | 12.2 | +70 | +4.4 |
| Alcol 24.0 r | 2590 | 20.1 | +10 | +1.0 |
| Alcol 25.0 r | 1300 | 1.7 | +24 | +1.9 |
| Alcol 26.0 r | 1150 | 5.3 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Alcol 27.0 r | 450 | 164.6 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Alcol 28.0 r | 287 | 185.5 | n.c. | n.c. |

| Company | Price | Volume | Change | Change % |
|---------------------------------|-------|--------|--------|----------|
| Commercial Services & Utilities | | | | |
| Delek 0.1 r | 2330 | 79.9 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Delek 0.5 r | 3430 | 10.1 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Delek 1.0 r | 600 | 1.0 | +4.4 | +1.0 |
| Delek 2.0 r | 401 | 208.2 | +2 | +0.5 |
| Delek 3.0 r | 670 | 54.6 | -20 | -2.9 |
| Delek 4.0 r | 3800 | 3 | +1000 | +2.7 |
| Delek 5.0 r | 20470 | 8.0 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Delek 6.0 r | 8350 | 1.8 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Delek 7.0 r | 15000 | 17.4 | n.c. | n.c. |
| Delek 8.0 r | — | — | — | — |
| Delek 9.0 r | — | — | — | — |
| Delek 10.0 r | — | — | — | — |
| Delek 11.0 r | — | — | — | — |
| Delek 12.0 r | — | — | — | — |
| Delek 13.0 r | — | — | — | — |
| Delek 14.0 r | — | — | — | — |
| Delek 15.0 r | — | — | — | — |
| Delek 16.0 r | — | — | — | — |
| Delek 17.0 r | — | — | — | — |
| Delek 18.0 r | — | — | — | — |
| Delek 19.0 r | — | — | — | — |
| Delek 20.0 r | — | — | — | — |
| Delek 21.0 r | — | — | — | — |
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| Delek 23.0 r | — | — | — | |

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Time to call a halt

FOR A WHILE yesterday it seemed that the race against time which had started on Sunday with Israel's entry into Lebanon was, for practical purposes, over. The order of the day, it seemed, was an agreement on a cease-fire, and then a discussion of terms for the withdrawal of Israeli forces back home.

That impression was gained, for one thing, from President Reagan's message to Premier Begin. This was no longer in the nature of a pious expression of hope for a quick winding up of Operation Peace for Galilee; while it did not amount to an ultimatum, the message represented a definite, if friendly, demand. In the background was a message from President Brezhnev to President Reagan serving notice, in effect, of the Soviet Union's commitment to Syria's safety. The reminder was more than Mr. Reagan could ignore.

Shades of 1956, knowledgeable observers, both official and unofficial, in Jerusalem promptly observed. For four days the guns had spoken on the ground in Lebanon; but now it was the turn of the still bigger guns, the major powers, to have their say.

There was no indication in Mr. Reagan's message that he had gone back on his view, aired before the British Parliament this week, about the need "to stamp out the scourge of terrorism that in the Middle East makes war an ever-present threat." But the U.S. president wanted a cease-fire, and he wanted it at once — before the possible escalation of which Mr. Brezhnev warned.

Would Israel accept an immediate cease-fire? For a while it seemed that the high command was ready to call a halt to the hostilities last night or early this morning. Some unfinished business was still left, under the expanded version of Israel's war aims, in both the west and the east: knocking out the PLO headquarters in Beirut, seizing control of the Beirut-Damascus road, and pushing the terrorists north of the Galilee panhandle.

These strategic objectives could presumably be achieved before Secretary of State Haig had arrived here, at Israel's own invitation, this morning. But last night, in Bonn, Mr. Haig called off the visit. His reason was that the Israelis had not "evinced sufficient flexibility." He had earlier on spoken to Mr. Begin on the phone.

Someone high up — it would not be too wild a surmise that it was Defence Minister Ariel Sharon — evidently bridled at the notion of an early cease-fire. Although he had originally assured the Americans that it would take him barely 72 hours to do away with the terrorists in Lebanon, the defence minister must now have decided that he needed a few more days, and not merely hours, to complete the job.

It was not entirely clear what still had to be done, to his mind. But there was a suggestion that, apart from wanting to mop up some pockets of terrorist resistance, including those in Beirut, Mr. Sharon was anxious to visit a true humiliation on the Syrians. This, somehow, instead of causing a bigger explosion, would be a contribution to a peaceful conclusion. In any case it would assure that the cease-fire, when it was concluded, would not be with the PLO, as last July, but with the Syrians.

The Syrians are interlopers, but they represent an authentic government, therefore they are an address. The PLO is merely a bunch of terrorists, whose mini-state now lies in ruins. And as for the present ramshackle, but still legitimate, Lebanese government, the defence minister would like to see it replaced with a brand-new central authority of his own choosing, controlled by representatives of the militant Christian minority.

In Mr. Sharon's book, Israel's ability to act as the arbiter of Lebanon's destiny is apparently limitless, and the death warrant it has issued the PLO will prevent that organization from ever rising again. With Lebanon under his thumb and the PLO extirpated, he will not just have assured the people of Galilee of a peaceful existence — he will, more importantly, have somehow "solved" the Palestinian problem. He will have secured Judea, Samaria and Gaza for Israel in perpetuity.

These illusions, it seems, are his guiding lights in the quest for total victory. Drunk with the IDF's stupendous successes this week, Mr. Sharon is in no hurry to agree to a cease-fire. He is playing with fire, but there is no one among those able to stay his hand who will so advise him. Mr. Begin is tagging along with him, and the cabinet is serving as his rubber-stamp.

Isn't it time the defence minister was told that enough is enough and that in over-extending the war in the north Israel may be pushing its luck too far?

NEW ORDER IN LEBANON?

Post Political Correspondent Mark Segal talks to Itamar Rabinovich and Daniel Dishon, of the Shiloah Centre.



Itamar Rabinovich. "Quite a few Arab states are happy to see Syria cut down to size."

(Millman)

THE NEW ORDER that should emerge in Lebanon in the wake of the fighting will only maintain its equilibrium if certain "red lines" are drawn, with Washington the only power capable of reconciling the interests of Israel and Syria. So far the Americans have been the net gainers in the situation, with the Soviets suffering from the losses sustained by their two clients — Syria and the devastated PLO.

These were some of the initial conclusions drawn yesterday morning by two leading Arabists from Tel Aviv University's Shiloah Centre for Middle Eastern and African Studies: its chairman Prof. Itamar Rabinovich and one of its senior research associates and editors, Daniel Dishon. The former added the rider that his prognosis was premised on "whether the government of Israel keeps to the parameters it originally laid down."

Rabinovich, whose latest book *War and Crisis in Lebanon* appeared so timely a week before the war broke out, said a conflict with Syria had been inevitable: the question had been when? Friction with Israel would have escalated because of the logic of the Syrian position.

Egypt was being reintegrated into the Arab system without having to abandon the peace treaty, with Syria still facing the unresolved issue of the Golan Heights, and unable either to join the political process or to launch military action. Hence Syria's tacit approval of the UNDOF mandate in May, a serious test of Damascus' intentions after the enactment of the Golan law.

Rabinovich did not rule out Syrian masterminding of the assassination attempt on Israel Ambassador Shlomo Argov, which had triggered the war, while noting that British police evidence spoke of some PLO splinter group being involved.

"On the basis of past experience we know, that despite disclaimers, that such actions were authorized by either the PLO leadership, Syria or Iraq. Further evidence will enlighten us as to who was behind the assassination plot that set the chain of events going," he said.

WHILE UNWILLING to be too emphatic about "a new Lebanon" emerging from the fighting, Rabinovich said a new Middle East had been emerging of late as the outcome of an ever-changing situation here. The Camp David process had helped to keep Egypt on the sidelines; the deep cleavage in the Arab world had resulted in Syria's being isolated and not getting moral or material aid from other Arab countries; and the Arab system was no longer purely Arab with two non-Arab powers — Israel and Iran — interacting with the Arab world.

He spoke of "the dissipation of the Lebanese state," holding that its disintegration over the past decade explained why the IDF could take over half of its territory so easily. As a result the military power of Syria had been neutralized and visibly weakened, while the PLO had been destroyed as a military force. He preferred not to use Dr. Dishon's

phrase, "a new order in Lebanon," but saw the equilibrium shifting, with Israel now deeply involved in the interplay of forces.

Was Assad still in control in Damascus? Rabinovich replied that while it would take time for political changes to be felt, it was already apparent that Assad had been shown to be a loser and his policies not to have worked out. This, the biggest crisis that had faced the Syrian president since he came to power in 1970, had been triggered by his intervention in Lebanon in 1976. It was difficult to tell in Arab politics when accounting for failure takes place, because they work on a different time scale.

Assad's regime had managed to survive internal opposition by this year's ruthless suppression, including massacres in places like Hama. The population was still cowed and the army could be expected to rally round him. Hence there was no sign yet that his grip was loosening.

Syria, said Rabinovich, will fight in Lebanon for what it sees as its vital assets like the Bek'a Valley, regarded as strategically crucial for Syria's defence. In addition, it has to defend its self-appointed role as protector of Lebanon and the Palestinian cause. Whether the scope of the fighting with Israel would expand hinged on the international situation as well as on Israeli actions, he declared.

HOW DID HE explain outside Arab silence?

"Quite a few Arab states are happy to see Syria cut down to size. Don't forget that Syria has been the ally of Iran against Iraq. The Saudis and their friends have an account to settle with Assad — he humiliated them at the Fes summit and they won't easily forget his massacre of

Sunni Moslems in Hama and other Syrian towns."

In addition to which, said Rabinovich, Egypt has an ambivalent attitude. Not only does Cairo have scores to settle with Damascus, but it also finds it hard to accept Israel as a regional power.

"While Egypt is ready to continue with the peace agreement, it does not want to have Israel as a regional power. After all, it isn't so long ago that the late Anwar Sadat said his aim was to restore Israel to its natural dimensions."

Hence, he said, the Egyptians have taken the most vociferous stand against the military operation in order to head off accusations of having opted out by making peace with Israel and by so doing creating what the Syrians call "a strategic gap."

DANIEL DISHON considered the question of what had changed since June 5, and replied that the PLO military force had been smashed and removed from the play of forces shaping what used to be Lebanon. At present, no one knew the extent of PLO casualties and how many had escaped behind the Syrian lines or were in hiding in the area controlled by the IDF. Nor was the extent of the losses of their arsenals yet known.

However, as an experienced observer of the scene, Dishon doubted whether the loss of its territorial base was the end of the PLO as such. He for one expected the PLO to become fragmented and to revert to its old terrorist tactics, with individual organizational chiefs like Habbash and Hawatme vying with Arafat for primacy.

Was Arafat not finished? Dishon thought him to be much too resilient for that, not forgetting the considerable funds, running into millions of dollars, he had in Swiss

bank accounts.

But he thought the current operation marked the end of Arafat's imposition of a quasi-regular army onto the PLO forces in contrast to previous fedayeen terror tactics.

The PLO under Arafat's command had switched from Maoist tactics to the semblance of a fixed line from the Mediterranean to Mount Hermon, with artillery and other gun emplacements. They had moved into South Lebanon, converting it into their autonomous region after being thrown out of Jordan after Black September 1970, and after Syria made it clear that it wanted tight control in exchange for letting them across its borders.

IN DISHON'S view, it was the PLO command's view of itself that had brought about its defeat.

"They overrated their deterrent retaliatory capacity, basing themselves on last year's experience, when Kiyat Shmona and other border villages suffered so much from their mini-war of attrition. They misjudged Israeli concern for human lives and morale as a weakness to be exploited. They also assumed they could rely on the 'safeguard' of Israeli apprehensions about likely Syrian involvement; anxiety about Egypt and the superpowers. None of which came about. They were so confident of their retaliatory capacity that they allowed it to outweigh the risks they were taking."

Dishon expected that the remnants of the PLO would find refuge behind Syrian lines, where they would get facilities, housing and even army training bases. But in return they would lose their operational freedom.

Here he noted that in the past, PLO incursions into the Golan lines had been rare. Only before 1967, when Syria was building up Arafat

to counter the influence of his predecessor as PLO chief, Nasser's protégé Ahmed Shukeiry, did Damascus allow such raids.

SPEAKING OF the kind of new order that would have to emerge, Dishon said:

"It's difficult to tell what our government has in mind. After all, much of the initiative is in Israeli hands but the government has failed to let the public in on its intentions."

As for his reading of the situation at noon yesterday, it was clear to him that Syria would not let itself be pushed out of Lebanon entirely without a major armed conflict.

He noted that the "red lines" existing since 1976 had been based on both sides' implicit recognition that they both had security interests in Lebanon requiring mutual respect.

"The big question facing us now is whether it will be possible to find a new premise for such implicit mutual recognition," he said.

What was needed if a new red line was to be defined was the minimizing of Syrian humiliation. The new order's three cornerstones would probably be Israel, Syria and the Maronite Christians, whose reassertion of authority would be expected to involve the assertion of Maronite power over as large an area of Lebanon as possible and the removal of all foreigners from the country.

Dishon said it should be realized that the Phalange wanted to get rid of the Palestinians, the Syrians and the Israelis.

"No one here should have any illusions that Bashir Jemayel and other Phalange leaders want an Israeli presence beyond our usefulness to them. No one should delude himself that the Maronite Christians will allow themselves to become another version of Major Haddad."

If the Lebanese equilibrium is to be stabilized, then some kind of Syrian involvement must be acknowledged, for Syria wants to ensure that no anti-Damascus group will come to power in Beirut.

The big question mark hovering over the future was whether Israeli interests as conceived by this government could be reconciled with those of Syria. Here he saw a pivotal role for Washington, with much hinging on the diplomatic missions being conducted by U.S. envoy Philip Habib.

"I'm assuming a best case analysis at a time when wisdom might compel one to offer a worst case prognosis," said Dishon. For a stable new order to be created in Lebanon, Syria, Israel and the Maronites must make room for the Shi'ite community that had become so much more powerful than in the past, and for the traditional Sunni Moslem leadership which had been pushed into the background by the now defeated coalition of the PLO, Marxists, leftists and Nasserists that had made up the Lebanese national movement.

The removal of the PLO to at best a marginal role would now allow such a new order to be constituted, Dishon declared.

READERS' LETTERS

THE ROAD TO MUTUAL RECONCILIATION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — Professor Bauer's article (June 3) reminds one, as it is perhaps intended to, of those human passions, fear amongst them, which Thucydides focuses on his analysis of the causes of the Peloponnesian war. Fear, indeed, seems to be at the root of many of our political deeds and misfortunes. It is noteworthy, too, that unlike many Israeli writers, Professor Bauer recognizes that fear is not the exclusive property of one nation, but that there is justified fear on the Palestinian side as well. The recognition, by each of two sides, that the other side also lives in fear of it, is the first and necessary step for mutual reconciliation.

Professor Bauer calls for a declaration of Israel's conditional willingness to negotiate with the PLO. His stated reasons for this, as his portrayal of the PLO itself, are not very flattering. On reading this part of Professor Bauer's article, I found myself reminded of the Arabic proverb: "In its mother's eyes, the monkey is a gazelle." Israel's conception of the PLO is, I remind Professor Bauer, analogous with the Palestinian's conception of the Israeli state. Whether the analogy is correct or not, the PLO is to the Palestinians what the Israeli state is to the Israelis.

Many Israelis, some of whom are more well-meaning than others, wish to drive a wedge between the Palestinians and the PLO. I contend that this is impossible; not because the Palestinians are fanatical warmongers, but because, just as different Israelis view the Israeli state differently, but are united on a minimum conception of what Israel stands for, so, also, different Palestinians view the PLO differently, but are united on a minimum conception of what the PLO stands for.

I believe that this "minimum conception" is essentially a positive and dynamic, rather than a negative and destructive feature. It is a conception that calls for national freedom and the construction of a political system "in Palestine" in which the

Palestinian individual can participate in the making of his future, and in which the Palestinian nation has the right to make that future. This, I believe, is the essential meaning of the PLO as it is viewed by Palestinians. And it is precisely in this sense, I believe, that a Palestinian who has never even read the Covenant will say: "The PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." Just as different Israelis will have different definitions of what "Eretz Yisrael" is, so, also, different Palestinians will differ on what "in Palestine" means. If the PLO does not define this phrase, then neither, the reader should be reminded, does the Israeli government define "Eretz Yisrael."

In the sense which I believe is meant by saying that the PLO represents the Palestinians, the question of the PLO itself becomes moot. The real issue is not whether Begin and his followers will recognize the PLO. The real issue is whether Israel will recognize Palestinian national identity. Some Israelis use the PLO as an excuse for not recognizing the Palestinian nation (just as, in converse, some Palestinians use the Israeli state for not recognizing the Jewish nation). But peace, if and when it comes, can come only through mutual recognition. This is why Professor Bauer's call for negotiations with the PLO must be heeded if peace is ever to become tangible.

In the final analysis, force, as Rousseau once stated, does not make right. This applies to the PLO's as well as to the Israeli State's conceptions and strategies. And if there is no justice, there can be no lasting peace. Israel, through its formal political machine, must somehow willingly accept a living arrangement with the Palestinian formal political machine, and vice versa. This is not to say that either machine is a gazelle. But it is to say that we must fight together in order to make the human being in the machine survive.

SARI NUSEIBEH
Jerusalem.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — I was shocked to read in your issue of May 30 that a citizen of Deir Hanna was sentenced to jail and a fine for singing a nationalist song which allegedly "constitutes incitement to violence." It is difficult to understand how the mere singing of a song, even if the words are controversial, can in any way incite to violence.

Freedom of expression is a basic human right in every democracy. A democracy which restricts free expression because some of the ideas may be uncomfortable, places itself in danger of collapse.

Those citizens who sit back and do nothing while universities and newspapers are closed, news media are ridiculed, books are banned and songs are prohibited, should ask themselves an important question — who is next?

IRWIN WEINTRAUB

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SARI NUSEIBEH

JAN KARSKI

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — When I opened The Jerusalem Post of June 2, I encountered a pair of familiar eyes. They belonged to Jan Karski, who had been a professor of mine five years ago in Washington. For a year, I had sat in his class, never guessing at his historical role. Jan Karski had risked his life to bear witness to the Holocaust.

I went to Yad Vashem that afternoon to hear Jan Karski deliver his testament. He relived his secret missions into Bergen-Belsen and the Warsaw ghetto, and his escape through occupied Europe to London. He told the story he had told nearly 40 years ago to men like FDR, Justice Frankfurter and Anthony Eden: "The Jews are being slaughtered in cold blood."

Possessed by his own heroic spirit, Karski overcame his years and his dread and his sadness at Yad Vashem to deliver his message in an unflinching voice. He spoke for history's sake. He spoke so that in the record of our people there would be no doubt that, during the war, the world knew exactly what the Germans were doing to the Jews.

We can never thank Karski. We can simply honour him and try to emulate him. Then perhaps, next time, there will be more than one Karski to tell the world, "enough."

JAY KOSMINSKY

Jerusalem.

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POSTSCRIPTS

PS FORMER U.S. president Jimmy Carter said recently that he feared Anwar Sadat was in danger from a member of Sadat's own delegation at the Camp David peace talks in September 1978, three years before Sadat was assassinated in Cairo.

Carter told a press conference in Anaheim, California, that he thought Sadat, meeting for 13 days under tight security with Prime Minister Menachem Begin at the Maryland presidential retreat, "was in physical danger."

He said he tightened the guard around Sadat's cabin without notifying the Egyptian president, but later thought he must have been foolish until Sadat was in fact assassinated in October 1981.

Carter said he would describe the Camp David incident in his memoirs, which are scheduled for publication November 2 — the sixth anniversary of his election.

At the Camp David talks, Carter said, he found Sadat and Begin "absolutely incompatible. During the last 10 days they never spoke to each other about anything concerning the accord."

Carter said that he managed to resolve the impasse by dealing through their aides.

Asked if he would consider another election bid in 1984, Carter said he hoped to see his former vice-president, Walter Mondale, elected.

PS LONDON critics had a nearly unanimous verdict on *The Jeweller's Shop*, the play written by Pope John Paul II in 1960 when he was auxiliary bishop of Cracow — the people's pope is not the people's playwright.

The play opened at the Westminster Theatre two days before John Paul's arrival for the first-ever papal visit to Britain.

Financial Times critic Michael Coveney dismissed the play as "irritatingly whimsical nonsense" and *The Daily Express* Rosalie Horner

concluded: "The pope's Jeweller's Shop is no theatrical gem, alas."

The play, about three couples at different points in marriage, consists largely of a series of monologues. It was translated from Polish by Boleslaw Taborski, who wrote programme notes describing the former Karol Wojtyla as a poet, actor, co-founder of a wartime theatre company and author of five plays.

"One can only assume that if he hadn't become Pope John Paul II, The Jeweller's Shop would by now have been consigned to oblivion," said *The Guardian's* Michael Billingham.

Irving Wardle of *The London Times* said judgment on the pope's "dreadful piece" must be stiff because he is not a theatrical amateur.

The Standard's Milton Shulman said, "only the devoted will think it is very good."

The play's only fan was *Daily Telegraph* critic John Barber, who said John Paul displayed "a dramatic flair" and "assured knowledge" of literary symbolism. "Plays about love and marriage are sufficiently rare and rarely so interesting as this," he said.

PS TWO OLD Tora scrolls that have been in the Baron Hirsch settlement synagogue in Argentina will soon arrive in Israel. Only a few dozen Jewish families remain in the agricultural settlement, which has been established in the last century to absorb Russian Jews. The synagogue where the scrolls have been kept has ceased to serve as a house of worship, and is overgrown with grass. The World Zionist Organization Tora Culture in the Diaspora department initiated their removal and transport to Israel, with the approval of the Argentine Jewish community.

J.S.